The China Weekly

REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established in 1917

September 30, 1939

U.S. Plans New Neutrality Law for Europe, Sends Fleet to Hawaii, Planes to Manila
An Editorial

Causes of Polish Collapse

Hitler Gets the Lion's Share

Yunnan Province Advancing

BY C. Y. W. MENG

Nippon-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact Would be a Futile Instrument
By Kenji Tsunotani

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Volume 90 Number 5

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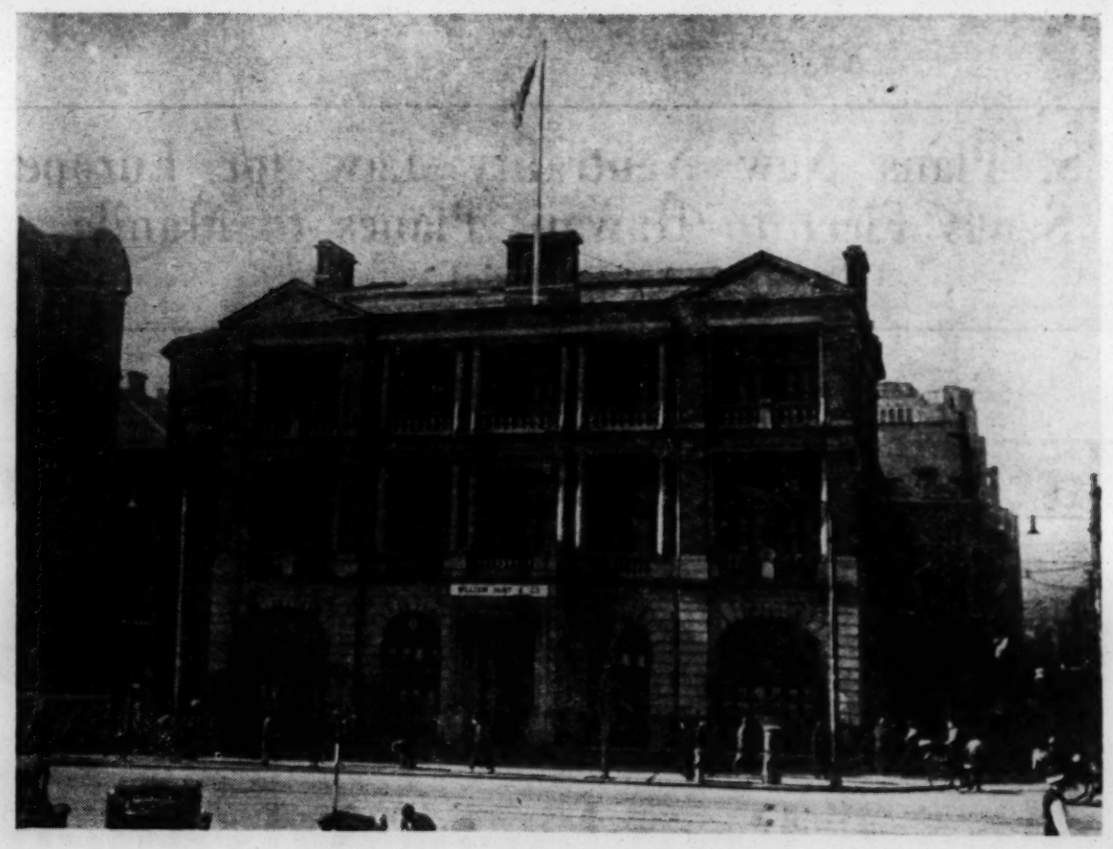

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What People Are Saying

Comments from Readers on Current Topics are cordially invited; their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of the *China Weekly Review*.

FOLLY OF WAR

To the Editor:

As a young Englishman I was very interested to read the article "Lest we Forget" in your issue of August 5. If any exposure of its folly could have prevented war, that article should have done so. Unfortunately war in Europe has now broken out. Fear cannot prevent a war of which fear is the cause.

In the words of Dr. Buchman, leader of Moral Rearmament, in his recent world broadcast, "Every nation and every individual is responsible for the existing situation. For in every nation those forces are at work which create bitterness, disunity and destruction. Nations like individuals have turned a blind eye to their own faults while pointing the finger at each other. A wave of unselfishness sweeping through our nation and every other nation would be the permanent answer to war."

We are all now faced, in Europe as previously in China, with paying the price of war—dying for our country. Are we prepared to face the price of peace—living differently for a new world?

It is a practical possibility. I can end the war in my heart now, in my home tonight, in my place of work tomorrow morning, if I will face honestly my own faults and shortcomings—if I will apologise for and put right my share in the strife.

Millions all over the world are already so working for a new world based on standards of honesty, unselfishness and love. In such a world, war would be impossible. Shall we perpetuate the regular destruction of 40,000,000 of each generation in a succession of futile wars, or shall we too live differently to build a new world order?

J. T. BLAIR

Seattle, Washington,
Sept. 10, 1939

THE ONLY SOURCE

To the Editor:

I deeply appreciated the courtesy of your office in sending me my copies of **The China Weekly Review** to the various points of my journey when I left China on an extended trip around the world the first part of this year. 'Twas my only source of information about the Orient on my trip and I was doubly grateful for the service. I am enclosing check for renewal.

L. M. H.

New York, Aug. 15, 1939

FAIR AND FAITHFUL

To the Editor:

I deeply appreciate your effort at a fair and faithful presentation of the various aspects of the world situation, especially the Far Eastern crisis. Our university library has kept a complete file of The Review and we have found it both informing and instructive. I have asked the librarian to subscribe for two more copies of the weekly for the general reading of the faculty and the student body.

LO CHIA-LUEN
Chancellor,
National Central University

Chungking, Sept. 4, 1939

A FOUL RECORD

To the Editor:

It occurred to me that readers of **The China Weekly Review**, particularly those living north of the creek—if you have any there—would be interested in the following letter written by Dr. Hugh Wilson O'Neill of Santa Ana, California, which appeared in the August 21 issue of **Time Magazine:**

"Time, Aug. 7 states, For the past two years Japan has bought from the U. S. well over half the high-test motor fuel, motors, machinery, scrap metals and scrap rubber essential to her Chinese conquest.

"Is it illogical to state that if Japan has wantonly slaughtered one and one half million Chinese, three quarters of a million Chinese men, women and children were murdered by the Congress and President of these States?

"If your statement is true, this country which spends half of its waking hours yowling at Hitler's persecution of the Jews and Czechs, should hang its head in shame at a foul and disgusting record.

"Your statement, in the interests of National Honor, should either not have been printed or it should have been given a full-page spread and dedicated to a degenerate Congress."

B. J.

Shanghai, Sept. 26, 1939

CLEAR INFORMATION

To the Editor:

The European War has broken out. For clear and detailed information, about the war and its relation to the Far East, the writer and his friends in this district await the arrival of **The China Weekly Review** every week-end. You will be glad to know that your paper is widely read here among my friends and others. I am much interested in the history of America and the first World War and hope that some of the readers of **The Review** can recommend a good book dealing with this subject.

M. W. Y.

Lotien, Sept. 11, 1939

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U.S. Plans New Neutrality Law for Europe—Sends Fleet to Hawaii, Planes to Manila

DEVELOPMENTS of phenomenal significance occurred this week with regard to American policy toward Europe and Asia. With reference to the complicated problem of Neutrality, Senator Key Pittman, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, completed the preliminary draft of the Administration's proposal for a solution of the question. While a majority of the members of the Committee were reported as favoring the proposal as a basis for discussion, Senator William E. Borah, leader of the so-called isolationist bloc, requested that action on the measure be postponed until Thursday of this week in order that he might have more time to study it. Senator Pittman's draft was as follows:

1. American vessels would not be allowed to carry passengers or goods to belligerent countries.
2. Violations of this provision would be punishable by a fine not exceeding $50,000.
3. Belligerent powers purchasing goods from the United States would have to take the title to them before the goods are shipped.
4. Losses sustained by American insurance underwriters on war cargoes could not be made a basis for claims against the Government.
5. The President could designate "combat areas" and prohibit American citizens or vessels entering them.
6. Americans could not travel on ships of belligerent Powers except in accordance with the rules prescribed by the President.
7. Red Cross personnel and vessels chartered by the Red Cross would be exempt from the restrictions on American travel and shipping.
8. American merchant vessels would be prohibited from carrying any but small arms necessary to preserve discipline aboard.
9. Belligerent governments could not sell securities in the United States.
10. Belligerents could obtain ordinary commercial credits for a period not exceeding 90 days.

Other provisions state that the solicitation of funds in the United States for belligerents would be prohibited, and that the President would have the power to impose special restrictions on the use of American ports by submarines or armed merchantmen belonging to belligerents.

The Special Session of Congress, which assembled at noon on Thursday, Sept, 21, has spent the intervening time in organizing for the battle over the Administration's proposal to change the present neutrality law which, among other things, prevents Americans from selling munitions and war materials to anybody—friend or foe. The measure is now generally recognized to be pernicious and more likely to involve the United States in war than to prevent the country's involvement in the European struggle.

Senator Pittman announced his expectation that the new Neutrality Bill would be voted on by the Senate within 30 days. The House of Representatives, on this occasion, has decided to allow the Senate to take the initiative. Threats of isolationists within the Democratic Party and in the Republican opposition, to conduct a fillibuster and drag out the discussion to Jan. 2 when the new session of Congress will begin, were not taken seriously. The excellence of the President's strategy in inviting his opponents in the last national election, Alf M. Landon and Frank Knox, to participate

Hitler's Ostrich Friend

Shoemaker in the Chicago Daily News

in the preliminary discussions at the White House, was generally recognized. The President's object in thus minimizing partisanship in the Neutrality discussions apparently has borne fruit, although Mr. Landon has tried to pin Roosevelt down on his intentions with regard to becoming a third-term candidate for the Presidency.

Of direct interest was a statement by Roger Babson, noted American economist, in Shanghai this week, that it was not likely the United States would enter the European War before the next national election which will be held in November, 1940. Mr. Babson was of the opinion that the United States ultimately would enter the war,

particularly if there appeared to be danger of Britain and France being defeated by Germany. Mr. Babson, who passed through Shanghai on a trip through the Orient, delivered an address on economic conditions in the United States and the European war situation on Tuesday evening.

FLEET TO HAWAII—PLANES TO MANILA

While the Special Session of Congress is planning a prolonged debate on the question of American participation or non-participation in the European war, the Administration has already made several unmistakable gestures indicative of a more positive policy with regard to the protection of U. S. interests in the Far East.

The despatch of the seaplane tender Langley from Pearl Harbor, Honolulu, to Manila was quickly followed by orders to fourteen twin-motored naval patrol bombers to follow the Langley to its new base in Manila Bay. The Langley arrived at Manila on Sept. 24 and the bombers, which reputedly have a range of 4,000 miles, majestically appeared in formation over Manila on the following afternoon, having made the last hop of the journey from Guam without incident. The bombers followed the course of the Pan-American clippers in their weekly flights to and from Hongkong. This is the first occasion in history when American military planes have crossed the international dateline. While the U. S. Asiatic Fleet has had a few planes in the Far East and the U. S. Army has maintained a few training planes in the Philippine Islands, this is also the first time that large bombers have been sent west of Honolulu, except during maneuvers.

America's next naval gesture will be the dispatch of a flotilla of large modern-type submarines from Pearl Harbor to the Philippines, with the object of augmenting the strength of the U.S. Fleet in Asiatic waters. The time of arrival of the submarines at Manila has not yet been announced.

But of greatest significance from the larger standpoint of American policy was the announcement at Washington on Tuesday of this week that the U. S. Navy is planning formidable maneuvers at Hawaii which will involve the transfer of most of the nation's fleet from West Coast ports to Pearl Harbor. Officials in Washington denied that the European War or Japan's recently intensified military operations in China had prompted the Navy's decision to hold maneuvers at Hawaii.

It was generally realized, however, that the presence of the U. S. Fleet at Pearl Harbor, within short sailing distance of the southern Pacific, probably would have a restraining effect on any Japanese military or naval adventures or ambitious moves toward American, British, French or Netherlands possessions in the Far East or South Seas.

American warcraft now based at San Diego on the southern California coast include 12 battleships, 25 cruisers, 61 destroyers four aircraft carriers, 14 submarines and 31 auxiliary ships.

The forthcoming maneuvers, according to announcement at Washington on Tuesday, will be centered on the defense of Pearl Harbor where important construction developments are now taking place.

FURTHER NAVAL DEVELOPMENT

While the Japanese expressed surprise—not unmixed with indignation—at the decision to send naval bombers to Manila and to hold fleet maneuvers at Pearl Harbor, they have not been ignorant of other protective moves on the part of the United States in the region of the Pacific Ocean. These moves, which have resulted from the Japanese Army's rampages on the Asiatic Continent in contravention of Japan's treaty commitments with the United States, China and other countries, have included harbor development projects stretching in a vast semi-circle from Alaska to Manila and then to Samoa in the South Pacific, to which place the naval authorities recently dipatched two of their most modern submarines.

The most elaborate of these construction enterprises, which will strengthen America's defense position in the Pacific immeasurably, will be at Honolulu where both the Navy and the Army are working on important projects. The Army construction program involves an expenditure of about U.S.$12,000,000, chiefly on two large airfields, including warehouses and officers' quarters. Much of the Navy's appropriation for development of harbors and aviation bases in the Pacific will also be expended at Pearl Harbor.

On July 14 last, President Roosevelt issued a proclamation which concentrated attention on the U. S.

Wasn't "Frightening the Child"

Chicago Tribune

The opposition newspapers said that Roosevelt was trying to "frighten" the country about war scares in Europe in order to divert the minds of the people from domestic troubles.

program to forge an impregnable aerial and submarine defense screen far out into the Pacific and Atlantic oceans to safeguard the American continent against aggression from east or west. According to the President's proclamation, work was to be started at once on five vitally important air and naval bases in the Far Pacific and Alaska. In order to speed up manual labor employed on these projects, the President suspended the 8-hour day, regarded as sacred in labor circles on the North American continent.

Reports published in the American press at the time frankly declared that the President's action was of unusual significance in view of Japan's aggressive steps in recent weeks and months against the rights of the United States and the other Western Powers in China, particularly Japan's action in blockading the China coast. The combined air and submarine bases will be developed at Palmyra, Johnson, Midway and at Kodiak and Sitka, Alaska. Owing to cold feet developed on the part of a considerable section of congress, no development work, for the present, can be undertaken at Guam. But the work now under way will form a front line of naval and air defense along a 15,000-mile circle from Alaska to far south of the Panama Canal, the periphery extending some 4,000 miles into the Pacific from the California coast.

Aside from the development of these air and sea bases, it also was announced that important defense works are also in progress at Panama to safeguard the Canal. Other works include an 8-million-dollar air depot at Ogden, Utah and a 5-million-dollar air base for defense of the Northwest Pacific Coast. A new air base, to cost U.S.$14,000,000, is being constructed at Panama in addition to the two bases already there. A recent statement by Gen. Malin Craig, retired chief-of-staff, indicated that naval and aviation development projects on the Alaskan coast were regarded as of primary importance due to the fear that hostile planes, landing on the Alaskan coast, could easily bomb West Coast cities. The Army air-base in Alaska, which will involve an expenditure of U.S.$4,000,000, will probably be located at Fairbanks. The five air-bases mentioned in the foregoing, will involve an expenditure of about U.S.$14,000-000. The total expenditure for Army and Navy air bases and submarine stations will be U.S.$62,800,000, covering both Pacific and Atlantic projects.

The Department of the Interior, which was given jurisdiction over America's island possessions and dependencies, now has supervision over 7,083 islands, according to recent announcement in Washington, following the transfer of the Philippines from the jurisdiction of the War Department to the Interior Department. Aside from the Phillippines, the Department's island responsibilities include the twenty islands of the Hawaiian group; fifty-three comprising the Virgin islands in the Caribbean and Atlantic; the three islands constituting Puerto Rico, sixty-seven islands adjacent to Alaska, and the South Sea and Equatorial islands of Howland, Baker, Jarvis, Canton, and Enderbury. The two last-mentioned, Canton and Enderbury, will be jointly administered by U. S. and Great Britain. The question of final sovereignty will be postponed for 50 years.

Pan-American Conference Plans Preservation of Neutrality

CONDEMNATION of aggression and a plea for the survival of the principles of liberty were the keynotes of a speech delivered at the opening session of the conference of the Pan-American Union by President Juan D. Arosemena of the Republic of Panama on Sept. 23. Twenty-one countries are represented at the gathering, which was expected to last for a full week.

President Arosemena declared that the American republics had gathered to find means of protecting themselves against "all those things which are incompatible with the liberal sentiments of their peoples." He recalled that need for the present conference had been foreseen at the previous conferences in Buenos Aires and Lima, when it was agreed that the 21 American republics would consult each other whenever a conflict should break out of such a nature as to threaten the peace of the Americas.

"Not one year has passed since then," he continued, "and already sad reality has shown the practical importance of that provision. The task of saving for mankind those moral values whose disappearance would mark the beginning and continuance of a process of cultural decadence now rests upon America."

Mr. Sumner Welles, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State and head of the U .S. delegation, addressed the conference on Sept. 25 and pledged the financial and military assistance of the United States to all the American republics to assist them in solving problems arising from the war in Europe. He urged a strengthening of the "good neighbor" policy between the various American states, and urged that they increase their trade with each other, though not at the expense of other neutral countries. On the subject of neutrality, Mr. Welles said he believed the time had come when the 21 American republics must clearly tell all belligerents that they cannot have the security of their nationals or their legitimate rights and commercial interests threatened by the activities of belligerents close to the coasts of the New World.

A committee consisting of the chief delegates to the Conference is now reported to be considering proposals for the establishment of a "hemispherical safety belt" extending for a distance of 300 miles from the coasts of continental America. The American nations, it is believed, will try to prevent any belligerent activity within the proposed belt and thus "insulate" the Americas from the European war. A joint naval patrol of the outer fringe of the proposed belt is said to be envisaged.

Speaking on Pan-American Day at the New York World's Fair on Sept. 22, U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull dedicated the nations of the Western Hemisphere to the preservation of civilization, which, he said, the European war threatened to obliterate. After extolling the technical and cultural achievements of America and the devotion of the American peoples to the principles of representative government and democratic liberty, Mr. Hull said:—

"Now that a major war in Europe is a grim reality, there is greater necessity than ever before for all nations still in a position to do so to increase their exertion for the preservation of those fundamental principles of civilized international relations through the application of which alone we of the Americas are firmly convinced the progress of the human race can be maintained. There is no other basis of enduring peace, of cultural and material advancement for nations, and for individuals and social and political institutions founded upon human freedom and the dignity of the human soul.

"It is our devout hope that the conflict now raging in Europe will not extinguish upon that continent the light of that resplendent civilization with which it has in these modern times illumined the world. It is our fervent prayer that all nations may find in themselves sufficient strength of conscience, of reason, of the very instinct of self-preservation to return, before it is too late, to the tried and proved highway of those basic principles of international relations which for the moment continue to function fully only in our hemisphere and in a constantly diminished area elsewhere.

"In the New World we have found that acceptance of these fundamental principles has made for progress and peace. To these principles all nations can adhere whenever they choose, and so together with us attain once more the blessing of an ordered and law-governed world. Meanwhile, in these hours of tragic trial, it is our duty to ourselves to keep these principles alive in our own midst and to make intensive and unceasing efforts toward bringing about adherence to them throughout the world."

Informed quarters in Washington, quoted in a *Transocean* dispatch on Sept. 23, said that the aims of the United States delegation to the conference in Panama City, which is headed by Mr. Sumner Welles, Assistant Secertary of State, would be to prevent any or all of the 21 American states from becoming involved in the European war. This aim, it was stated, embraced three main problems, as follows:

1. To exclude possibilities of conflicts which might arise in the event that any of the European belligerents undertake warlike operations within the territorial waters of the American continent;
2. To prepare against the danger that, as a result of the sinking of ships of any of the 21 American states, a conflict might arise which would be susceptible of leading to war;
3. To adopt measures of an economic nature designed to prevent a crisis resulting from a decrease of American trade.

Chinese Gamblers Heavily Sentenced, Fate of Japanese Owners Unstated

The First Special District Court, on Sept. 23, sentenced 77 Chinese gamblers and operators of a gambling joint at 745 Weihaiwei Road, International Settlement, to terms ranging from three months to two years. Some were fined in lieu of jail sentences. On Tuesday, Sept. 19, the day following the raid, 117 of those found on the premises of the gambling house were sentenced to pay a fine of $40 each. It was brought out at the trial that the house had been opened by an international gang composed of Chinese, Japanese, Koreans and Russians. The Japanese were handed over to the Japanese consular authorities but no statement has been issued as to what was done with them, although the original complaint was said to have originated with the Japanese. The police also seized considerable money and much gambling equipment, which were confiscated. The Chinese leader of the gang, whose name was not announced, was sentenced to two years imprisonment and a fine of $2,000, while his assistant (name also not given) drew a sentence of a year in jail and a fine of $1,000. Two others drew fines of $1,000 each and one year in jail. Only three out of the entire gang were acquitted. Among those sentenced were 15 Chinese women found on the premises.

This particular gambling house, known as the Continental Club, was thought by the Municipal Police to be the largest in the city, although the one known as Hollywood on Yu Yuen Road occupies about a quarter of a block. The Continental Club, like most of the gambling houses operated by Cantonese and Japanese syndicates here, had one floor which was entirely equipped for opium smoking. However, no one was found smoking when the police entered the room, hence the opium charge was not pressed. The raid on the joint was made by Chief Inspector Dudley of the Bubbling Well Station, accompanied by Inspectors Moore, Tabrum, and Yamaguchi. K. S. Tsien of the Municipal Advocate's office was in charge of the prosecution.

This was the first raid and ensuing prosecution of proprietors and inmates of any of the 20-odd gambling houses which have been opened in and about the International Settlement since the Japanese invasion of the Shanghai district two years ago.

Hitler Gets Lion's Share in Partition of Poland

(Editorial Correspondence)

THE battle of Warsaw is not yet over as these lines are being written. The Germans have advanced again to the very suburbs of the Polish capital, but still considerable Polish forces continue to defend gallantly the proud city. Warsaw lacks all natural defenses and even extensive fortifications, but the Poles evidently try to repeat, and this time against the most powerful military force in the world, the heroic examples of Spanish Madrid and Shanghai's Chapei. Warsaw is not entirely alone; to the North-West of the city the Poles still hold the region between the Lower Bug River and the Vistula, defended by the strong fortress of Modlin at the confluence of the Bug and Poland's main river. Had it not been for the Russian invasion, the Poles might have been able to hold out in this region for months, but with the Germans on three sides in front and the Russians advancing from behind, Polish defense—appears to be almost hopeless. It may not be long before the German and Russian armies fully control the territories assigned to them by Messrs. Hitler and Stalin in the Fourth Partition of Poland, A.D. 1939.

The line of demarcation between their occupied-areas-to-be in Poland roughly follows the course of four rivers, descending the Pissa River from the East Prussia frontier to the Narew River, following the Narew to the Bug and Vistula, ascending the latter to the mouth of the San, and mounting the San up to the Carpathian mountain range. Whatever will be the provisional fate of Poland at the hands of the Germans and Russians—whether there will be puppet regimes, protectorates, or outright annexations—the above line of demarcation is likely to remain the boundary between the new German and Russian spheres of influence in the country, perhaps subject to minor revisions of some sort or other. This line is not a geographic boundary; the geographic formation of the country East and West of the line is exactly the same. The line roughly corresponds, however, to the ancient boundaries between medieval Poland and Lithuania some 450 years ago, and still today forms the boundary between territory peopled by an absolute majority of genuine Poles in the West, but by absolute majorities of Ukrainians and White Russians in the East. It is a sort of ethnical and national frontier line.

On the surface, it looks as if the Soviet obtained the lion's share of the Polish spoils. Russia will occupy about 225,000 square kilometers of Polish territory, and Germany only about 150,000 square kilometers. The German share, however, is incomparably more valuable than the Russian. There are over 20,000,000 inhabitants in the former as against only about 13,000,000 in the latter. Of Poland's 11 cities with a population above 100,000, Germany will control eight and Russia only three. It is in the German share that the most valuable economic assets of Poland are situated, while the Russian share is distinctively poor in almost every respect.

Agriculture in Poland east of the Vistula has extremely low standards. Crop yields per acre there average only half as much as in the west of the country. Animal husbandry is of a backward type. The peasants of eastern Poland are, as a rule, almost incredibly poor, poorer than many Chinese and Japanese farmers, and are generally illiterate. There are valuable forests in the Russian share, but Russia herself abounds in forest reserves. As regards industry, it has been erroneously reported that Russia secured a hold upon Poland's entire oil industry. Russia got only the eastern section of Poland's oil districts which are divided in two almost equal parts by the line of the San River, while Germany obtains control of the western half where, among other concerns, Standard Oil for many years has been active. Beyond this, the Russian share contains only some sugar refineries, a large series of saw-mills, and some miscellaneous industry in the Lemberg region.

The Polish oil industry is among the country's minor industries. It produced of late years no more than some 500,000 tons of various oil products, accounting for only 0.3 percent of the world's production. Poland's 30 oil refineries employ a mere 3,000 workers. It is only in paraffin that Poland holds, in this field, a strong position in the world market, with a 10 per cent share in the regulated international paraffin export. The major industries of Poland are the iron, steel, zinc, coal and textile industries, all of which are situated well within the German share. The acquisition of these industries, as well as of control over the rich agricultural surplus

Division of the Spoils

North-China Daily News map

production of western Poland (bacon, rye, eggs, sugar, barley) which accounted for almost 40 per cent of Poland's foreign exports, substantially contributes to Germany's economic strength.

Polish Upper Silesia and the adjacent Dombrowa Basin form the sites of powerful heavy industries. Poland used to produce there some 35,000,000 tons of coal annually, whereof she managed to export one-third, being in many foreign markets a serious competitor of British coal exports. Her coal output constitutes about 3.5 per cent of world production. Besides, German-occupied Poland produced over 1,000,000 tons of steel every year, while the zinc production of above 100,000 tons annually formed 11 per cent of the world's output. The Polish textile industries of Lodz include the largest cotton mills and linen manufacturies of all Europe. All this, and many minor industries only in recent years developed, are now at the disposal of Germany.

Together with this valuable booty, it is true, Germany acquired also another set of serious troubles and difficulties. In her new Polish conquest were living prior to the war fewer than 1,000,000 Germans, but about 18,000,000 Poles and almost 2,000,000 Polish Jews. The 18,000,000 Poles will prove much more difficult to handle than the 6,500,000 Czechs in Bohemia and Moravia. For 125 years prior to the Great War of 1914-18, Germany tried in vain to assimilate some 3,000,000 Poles in West Prussia, Posen and Upper Silesia, and all German efforts in that direction only contributed to arousing the wrath of the Poles and increasing their national consciousness. The organization of a pro-German puppet regime in Poland will be extremely difficult. The Pilsudskists, whose power in Poland Germany of late weeks destroyed by her Polish campaign, were the only political group in Poland which was not definitely anti-German. The three leading parties of the opposition—the Agrarians, the National Democrats, and the Socialists—all are violently anti-German, having bitterly attacked for many years the Pilsudskist regime because of its pro-German proclivities.

The Russians, however, also are confronted in their new conquests with serious problems. They have to deal there with only about 1,000,000 Poles, 1,500,000 Polish Jews, 2,000,000 White Russians, but with over 7,000,000 Ukrainians. These Ukrainians have been neither pro-Russian nor pro-Communist. The Ukrainians of East Galicia, in particular, for ninety years past developed a strong nationalist movement in favor of the establishment of an independent, bourgeois Ukrainian state reaching from the San River to the Don River. This movement, suppressed by the Poles, enjoyed determined German assistance, and has a strong basis in the Ukrainian peasant masses. The Soviets also will have to deal with strong remnants of ancient Tsarist Russia in what was Eastern Poland. That country is the only region on earth where the old Russian Orthodox Church still is firmly entrenched with a mass following, which every year sent hundreds of thousands of pious pilgrims to the famous Poczajow Monastery, now in the hands of Red Army units. It will be easy for the Russians, on the other hand, to deal with the insignificantly small minority of big Polish landholders, mostly of the high aristocracy, who hold vast estates of medieval extent and structure all over the east of Poland.

The Polish Jews will be a difficult problem for both the Germans and the Russians. These Jews form strong minorities in most of the cities of Western Poland where they account for 40 to 45 per cent of the inhabitants in Warsaw, Lodz and Cracow. They form absolute majorities in most of the cities east of the Vistula, accounting in cities near the old Russian frontier for between 80 and 90 per cent of the population. Although there is a strong Communist movement among the Jewish workers and intellectuals, most of the Polish Jews are distinctively bourgeois, and zealously either Mosaic orthodox or Zionist. The Jews form a little more than 10 per cent of Poland's total population, but control almost half of the country's industry, trade, and finance.

All of the above circumstances of the Russo-German partition of Poland considered, it appears that the Germans won very substantial advantages while the Russian share in the Polish booty, despite its large geographical extent, is not very impressive. This share hardly appears worth the complete change of front in Russian foreign policy, and seems but a meager price for the timely assistance which the Russians gave to the Germans. Since Dictator Stalin may be credited with knowing perfectly well what that assistance has been worth and still is worth, and with being decided to get the highest possible price for that assistance, it should be taken for granted that the Russian share in the Polish spoils is but a partial advance payment on what the Soviet is to get immediately after, or later on. The destruction of Poland has opened the way for a "New Deal" in the Baltic states as well as in the Balkan countries.

Polish foreign policy, in its most ambitious days, aspired at constructing under the leadership of Poland a huge barrier of more or less allied and associated countries stretching from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, and separating Germany from Russia. These plans proved impossible to carry out and all that Poland achieved, in this direction, was an alliance with Rumania for the eventuality of a Russian attack upon either of the two countries, as well as relations of intimate political, diplomatic and military friendship between Poland and Esthonia. It is these two countries whom the destruction of Poland leaves badly exposed to Russian and German interference. Rumania has completely ignored her Polish ally, refusing to render assistance under the flimsy pretext that Poland was attacked first by Germany, and only later on by Russia. Esthonia has sent her Minister of Foreign Affairs to Moscow to plead there with Stalin for mercy, apparently because Berlin may have told the Esthonians that they now are considered to fall within the new sphere of influence of Russia. Rumania is still frantically trying to find out whether it is Germany, or Russia, or both, to whom she will have to listen.

The Bucharest government's energetic dealing with the assassin movement of the fascist Iron Guards, of course, does not preclude an understanding with, or final submission to Russia and Germany. The Iron Guards are meant as an imitation of Italian Fascism and German National Socialism, but they failed thus far to secure any backing on the part of any substantial interests in Rumania. That country has been ruled for twenty years, ever since the destruction of big landownership immediately after the Great War of 1914-18, by a coalition of big industry, cereals trade, bureaucracy, court and king, and this coalition's swift and summary action against the Iron Guards amounts primarily to domestic action with little bearing on foreign policies. The same regime that destroyed the Iron Guards may well bargain, in the near future, with Berlin and Moscow, if Messrs. Hitler and Stalin will agree to offer terms which might cost Rumania power, territory and raw materials, but which would leave intact the domination of the ruling coalition over what will remain of Rumania. Should the latter's very existence be threatened, however, Rumania's rulers are likely to prefer to fight, and to recall that they are the allies not only of Poland, but also of France.

The Polish Collapse and Its Causes

WARSAW, Polish capital without a government, was being subjected this week to the terrors of a wholesale attack with all the implements of warfare as the German Army, battering at the city's defenses, sought to bring the war with Poland to a definitive conclusion. Descriptions of the attack are in almost all respects reminiscent of the horrors which the Japanese Army inflicted on Shanghai, Nanking, Canton and Hankow and the siege of Madrid by the army of General Franco. German artillerymen are pouring shells into the beleaguered city, while Reich aviation supplements the work of destruction by means of incendiary bombs. A Warsaw communique on Monday of this week said there were no buildings intact and none in which there have not been victims. Dead and wounded number thousands. It has become a matter of prestige for the German Army to reduce and occupy Warsaw. The attack is merciless, indiscriminate. That is war.

Of the bravery of the Polish defenders, who refused to surrender, there can be no question. But that their efforts will prove vain is equally certain. They now seem intent on making the German victory as costly as possible—to the Germans. Looking back on the events of the past four week,s it is hardly possible to escape the conclusion that Poland has been used as a strategic pawn by Britain and France, for search the record as one will, it is impossible to find a trace of any real Anglo-French assistance to that country. The "mutual" assistance pact between Britain and France, on the one hand, and Poland on the other, has in its application been anything but mutual. Anglo-French assistance to Poland has been confined to sonorous praise of Poland by Prime Minister Chamberlain and Premier Daladier. Poland's resistance of the German Army, on the other hand, has given the Anglo-French allies time to prepare offensive operations on the Western Front and this interlude has cost them exactly nothing except words of encouragement to the Poles.

Direct military assistance to Poland was admittedly difficult, but not entirely impossible. It has been rumored that Britain promised to send naval units and an expeditionary force to Gdynia to help stem the German invasion of the corridor. To effect such an action, it is true, British warships would have had to fight their way into the Baltic, and even if the move held prospects of success it would probably have taken so long to accomplish that the help for Poland would have arrived too late. But it would have been a highly valuable diversionist activity, and thus of service to the Polish cause. If indeed Britain promised this type of assistance, the conclusion is obvious that once the war had started the British Government decided against such a perilous and costly undertaking.

Equally interesting is the fact that Britain and France have held off from an offensive on the Western Front against Germany. Admitting that this has required careful preparation and a certain delay, it nevertheless seems apparent that no real attempt was made to help Poland by compelling Germany to meet a real attack in the West. One European commentator has attributed to Britain the hope that Poland would be able to withstand the German onslaught for at least three months, thus giving Britain and France that much time to prepare an offensive against Germany in the west. If so, the Anglo-French strategists seriously miscalculated the possibilities of Polish resistance. It is true that Stalin's invasion of Poland—a more or less surprise factor in the situation—contributed to the collapse of Polish resistance, but even without the aid of the Kremlin boss there is little reason to doubt that Hitler would have been able to make good on his promise to liquidate Poland within a few weeks. Poland's army was crumpling before a single Red soldier had stepped into Polish territory. When Moscow charged the Polish government with internal weakness and ineptitude it spoke a patent truth. The charge of cowardice must now be added. President Moscicki, Colonel Josef Beck and Marshal Smigly-Rydz took no chances with their own hides. Now, from their places of refuge in Rumania and France, they seek to encourage the Polish soldiers at Warsaw to continue a hopeless resistance. By their desertion, these gentlemen revealed themselves in the same cowardly light as did the Popular Front government of Republican Spain a few months ago.

Does Hitler Read History?

WITH OUR SUBMARINES WE CAN DEFY THE WORLD
1914
ADMIRAL VON TIRPITZ AND THE KAISER
1939
WITH OUR AIRPLANES WE CAN DEFY THE WORLD
FIELD MARSHAL GOERING AND DER FUEHRER

Chicago Tribune

The Brussels correspondent of the Italian newspaper *Messagero* told an interesting story last week about the role of Britain and France in the German-Polish war. A Polish personage closely connected with the Polish legation in Brussels, he said, accused Britain and France of having betrayed Poland, who, he declared, would have negotiated with Germany had it not been for the far-reaching assurances from Paris and London of full and immediate military assistance in case of attack by Germany—*from the first day of the outbreak of hostilities.*

What Poland needed most were tanks and airplanes as well as motorized artillery. These were promised, the Polish personage reportedly said, but despite several urgent reminders neither Paris nor London made the slightest effort to fulfill the promise. As the military situation became worse, the Polish minister at Brussels, a son of President Moscicki, went to London with instructions from Warsaw to demand the promised help. He was received by Prime Minister Chamberlain, who uttered "nice words of solidarity and admiration for the heroic Polish resistance" and even made fresh promises, which also were not kept.

Meanwhile, the Polish troops at Westerplatte and Gdynia were being massacred while endeavoring to defend harbors where Allied troops were supposed to

land. When finally the situation became desperate, the Poles were told that at least 100 French planes, fully manned, were on their way to Poland, but these never arrived.

The Polish personage quoted by the *Messagero* correspondent reportedly concluded his bitter accusation as follows: "If we have met our doom we owe this to English betrayal. Victimized Poland lies heavily on the conscience of England. London has pushed us into deep water and then watched us drown without any attempt to help. From the first man to the last, the Poles hate their so-called allies more than they do the Germans. The Germans, after all, told us from the very beginning quite clearly what to expect."

This interesting story was brought to Shanghai by the German *Transocean* agency, but local newspapers failed to publish it despite its obvious news value. An Italian press comment by the *Corriere della Sera*, brought to Shanghai by the same agency, declared that Poland had been sacrificed for foreign interests and that this was done under circumstances which made Poland's collapse inevitable. Poland's counsellors, said the paper, deceived both themselves and their country.

Marshal Smigly-Rydz, in his hide-out in Bucharest, was reported by *Transocean* to have said that after the second day of the war he realized the Polish cause was lost. He resolved to conclude peace, but was urged by Britain not to do so because British assistance would be forthcoming on land, water and in the air. The Polish Government had even received information from a Polish source that British troops were fighting at Westerplatte.

That Britain's failure to aid Poland has caused dissatisfaction in England was revealed in a critical editorial in the London *Daily Herald*, which declared on Sept. 23 (again according to *Transocean*) that it was no longer in the interests of the nation to conceal the dissatisfaction over developments of the past weeks. Among other criticisms of British policy, the paper said that Britain's failure to support Poland had created a very unfavorable impression and had enabled Germany to avoid fighting on two fronts. The British Government as at present constituted, the paper declared, is not able to cope with the problems facing it, and certain changes should be made.

Taking all the circumstances into consideration, it seems clear that Poland's collapse is due to a series of dovetailing circumstances. First must be placed the internal weaknesses of the Polish state (among these being the presence of large oppressed minorities whose loyalty could not be counted on) and its military deficiencies. Determined Anglo-French assistance might have prevented the collapse, but Britain obviously was not prepared to render extremely costly assistance which perhaps would have failed in any case to have done more than stave off the collapse. Stalin's intervention, in the absence of Anglo-French aid to Poland, proved a knock-out blow.

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A highly intriguing revelation concerning the preparatory stages of the European war was made last week by the British Government in a White Paper. It was disclosed that on Aug. 28, five days after he had signed his non-aggression pact with Stalin, and five days before the British declaration of war on Germany, Chancellor Hitler offered to conclude a military alliance with Britain. The White Paper gave excerpts from conversations in Berlin between the British Ambassador and Chancellor Hitler, in which the latter complained that he had been driven by the Anglo-French attitude to conclude a pact with his hated Soviet rival. He also was said to have warned Britain that Japan would be the only winner if Britain made war on Germany—thus revealing a view of the Empire of the Rising Sun (the Yellow Peril) essentially similar to that of Kaiser Wilhelm a quarter of a century ago.

From these revelations it would appear that Britain was already bent on war against Germany as the only solution of the intolerable European tension. If Hitler, before the ink was dry on the German-Soviet pact and even before it was ratified, was prepared to double-cross his Russian partner, the British certainly had every reason to distrust his overtures. What Stalin thinks of all this can be left to the imagination. The Japanese newspapers were greatly interested by Hitler's alleged assertion that only Japan would win in an Anglo-German war and splashed the British Government's revelations prominently on their front pages.

While the war machines of Britain and France are still maneuvering for position on the Western Front, with "fighting" more or less confined to artillery bombardments and aerial attacks on fortified positions, there is still nothing final about the war line-up of the European states. British and French diplomacy is concentrating on efforts to construct an eastern front against possible German-Russian moves in the Balkans, while Stalin is plainly seeking to extend his sway over the Baltic states. British money has gone to Turkey in the form of credits, but the Turkish Foreign Minister has gone to Moscow to work out plans with the Stalin government by means of which, apparently, it is intended to close the Dardanelles and the Black Sea to any state hostile to either Russia or Turkey. It will be interesting to see what comes of this British-Soviet tug-of-war.

Premier Mussolini of Italy has attempted mediation again—and apparently failed. Last Saturday he pointed out that the destruction of Poland was an accomplished fact and should be recognized as such. Europe, he said, was not yet actually at war. Britain and France were technically at war with Germany only because of their commitments to Poland. Then why not call the war off? Britain's answer was that the Allies are committed to the destruction of the Nazi system in Germany, so the war must go on.

During the past week the war, for the most part, has been a war of propaganda and counter-propaganda. Correspondent Knickerbocker of the Hearst press cabled a dispatch from London charging that Dr. Joseph Goebbels, Reich Propaganda Minister, and other Nazi leaders had deposited their large personal fortunes abroad in preparation for possible flight from Germany. Dr. Goebbels counter-attacked by calling Knickerbocker an "international liar and forger" and challenged him to produce proof of his assertions. British and French propaganda last week-end reported that widespread revolts had broken out in the Reich protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia. Berlin ridiculed the story.

The Shanghai *Mainichi* plunged into the European conflict on Monday of this week, advocating editorially that Japan should aid Germany in defeating Britain if Germany could not do it alone. When the Japanese Government announced its neutrality in the European conflict, the paper said, this meant that Tokyo considered restoration of peace in East Asia the prime question, and non-intervention in Europe as secondary. But—"the term 'non-intervention' was used to signify that if it became necessary to intervene in Europe to settle the Sino-Japanese conflict, then Japan could plunge into the European war to pursue her aim in East Asia."

Britain, the paper continued, had interfered most of all the Powers in the Sino-Japanese conflict. Others who had "meddled" were France and the United States. There was also Soviet Russia, but her actions were not as concrete as those of Britain. Consequently—"If Germany is not able to beat Britain, then Japan should aid Germany in defeating Britain. Non-intervention cannot be recognized."

Lunt Says Japanese "Built-up" China Will Bring Handsome Returns!

Carroll Lunt, described in the American press as a "prominent Shanghai magazine editor," has been making a lecture tour of the United States advocating American cooperation with Japan in the exploitation of the riches of China. In an address before members of the Foreign Trade Association of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce on Sept. 19, Mr. Lunt stated that the Japanese intended "to build up China in a way that would bring *them* handsome returns."

Referring to the future of American business in China, Lunt declared, "None need fool himself that the Japanese are in China merely for their health." He did not think, however, that Japan's advance into China meant the doom of American business in the Far East. He predicted that China "would achieve greater purchasing power and a high standard of living under Japanese control."

Lunt, who was born in Shanghai, has been the publisher of a number of small magazines which express the Japanese point of view. Several months ago he went to Tokyo, according to statements of his friends, to obtain support for a picture magazine he was promoting. The Japanese authorities, however, encouraged Mr. Lunt to make a lecture trip to the United States. Several newspaper clippings referring to Lunt's speeches, which have been received in Shanghai, have quoted him as dilating on the glories which are to follow the Japanese occupation and military control of China. He also forecasted that American businessmen would benefit from the Japanese occupation—provided they cooperated and supplied Japan with funds to carry out her program in Asia.

Stalin Embarrasses His Yes-Men Abroad

Newsweek, Sept. 4, 1939

SINCE 1935, America's Left-wingers have preached from every corner soapbox that Soviet Russia is democracy's best friend and that the Communist brotherhood is the first line of defense against war and Fascism. After Italy's conquest of Ethiopia, the Spanish civil war, and more particularly the dismemberment of Czecho-Slovakia, many angry and bewildered pacifists, liberals, and political moderates, convinced the world was headed for a final momentous choice between Communism and Fascism, were inclined to cast their lot with Moscow.

Ray in the Kansas City Star

Few regarded it as surprising, therefore, when announcement of the signing of the Nazi-Soviet nonaggression pact left many a stunned anti-Fascist's face somewhat redder than the Red emblem. Last week Leftist apologists were just beginning to improvise a wide variety of silver linings to fit their newest cloud.

Earl Browder, Communist party secretary, rushing back to New York headquarters to stifle Trotskyite gibes of "I told you so!" spluttered: "a wonderful contribution to peace . . part of the long declared and established policy of the Soviet Union."

Travers Clement, Socialist party secretary, had another interpretation: "(This) strips from Stalin's Russia the last vestige of pretense as a representative of working-class internationalism."

The Rev. Thomas L. Harris, secretary of the American League for Peace and Democracy (so-called Communist party front group), lined up with Browder: "(There is not) the slightest evidence that this pact is the prelude to an alliance with Fascism."

Norman Thomas, veteran Socialist leader, hewed to the party line: "They (the Russo-German pacts) are not a strange and sudden deviation in the line of Communist development; they are an expression of it."

Max Shachtman, secretary of the Socialist Workers party (Trotskyites) could not resist the chance to gloat: "Either Stalin is overturned by a new revolution, or Russia will end as a Fascist colony."

Liberal journals likewise labored their explanations:

The Daily Worker in New York, official organ of the Stalinist Communists in America, refused to print a line about the Russo-German pact until it had first checked with Moscow, then spread a 1,500-word editorial over Page 1. Excerpts: "The Soviet Union's peace policy never shined brighter . . (Russia) is seriously weakening Hitler's hold upon the German people."

WARSAW SURRENDERS

The German High Command announced Sept. 27 that the Commander of the Warsaw Garrison had offered to surrender the Polish capital unconditionally. German troops, it was stated, had already fought their way into the outskirts of the city in face of the fiercest opposition.

The People's World, San Francisco (semi-official Communist organ): "It is a lie, deliberately told to muddy the people's mind, to say that a nonaggression pact . . . is any barrier to a peace front."

The American Guardian, Oklahoma City, Okla. (independent Socialist): "From the viewpoint of peace this is good . . Structurally and functionally, Russia and Germany are more alike today than either is to any capitalist democracy."

The New Leader, New York (Socialist democratic weekly): "Two souls with a single thought."

The Nation, New York liberal-Leftist weekly, caught with the news in the midst of going to press, editorialized: "The disillusion which will follow among the Left forces here and abroad will be bitter"—but sent readers bolt upright with a pagelong letter in the back of the magazine, announced as signed by 400 liberals, denouncing "attempts to bracket the Soviet Union with the Fascist states."

Obviously already set up in type and too late either to kill or explain with a footnote, the embarrassing letter almost shouted: "With the aim of turning anti-Fascist feeling against the Soviet Union they (Fascist-minded reactionaries) have encouraged the fantastic falsehood that the U.S.S.R. and the totalitarian states are basically alike. By this strategy they hope to create dissension among the progressive forces whose united strength is a first necessity for the defeat of Fascism."

The letter also cited ten "basic points" to make it "clear that Soviet and Fascist policies are diametrically opposed."

Harper in the Birmingham Age-Herald

Special Session of Congress

President Roosevelt's Address on Neutrality and the Arms Embargo

(Delivered at the opening of the Special Session of Congress on September 22)

"I have asked the Congress to reassemble in extraordinary session in order that it may consider and act on the amendment of certain Legislation which in my best judgment so alters the historic foreign policy of the United States that it impairs the peaceful relations of the United States with foreign nations.

"At the outset I proceeded on the assumption that every member of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, and every member of the executive branch of the Government, including the President and his associates, personally and officially, are equally and without reservation in favor of such measures as will protect the neutrality, the safety and the integrity of our country, and, at the same time, keep us out of war.

Desire For Peace

"Because I am wholly willing to ascribe an honorable desire for peace to those who hold different views from my own as to what those measures should be, I trust that these gentlemen will be sufficiently generous to ascribe equally lofty purposes to those with whom they disagree. Let no man or group in any walk of life assume exclusive protectorate over the future well-being of America—because I conceive that regardless of party or section, the mantle of peace and of patriotism is wide enough to cover us all. Let no group assume the exclusive label of the 'peace bloc'. We all belong to it.

"I have at all times kept the Congress and the American people informed of events and trends in foreign affairs. I now review them in a spirit of understatement. Since 1931 the use of force, instead of the council table, has constantly increased in the settlement of disputes between nations—except in the Western Hemisphere where there has been only one war, now happily terminated.

History Reviewed

"During these years also the building up of vast armies, navies, and storehouses of war has proceeded abroad with growing speed and intensity. But during these years, and extending back even to the days of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, the United States has constantly, consistently, and conscientiously done all in her power to encourage peaceful settlements, to bring about reduction of armaments, and to avert threatened wars. We have done this not only because any war anywhere necessarily hurts American security and American prosperity, but because of the more important fact that any war anywhere retards the progress of morality and religion, and impairs the security of civilization itself.

"For many years the primary purpose of our foreign policy has been that this nation and this Government should strive to the utmost to aid in avoiding war among other nations. But if and when war unhappily comes, the Government and the nation must exert every possible effort to avoid being drawn into the war.

"The executive branch of the Government did its utmost within our traditional policy of non-involvement to aid in averting the present appalling war. Having thus striven and failed, the Government must lose no time or effort to keep the nation from being drawn into the war.

Proud Of Record

"We are proud of the historical record of the United States and of all the Americas during all these years, because we have thrown every ounce of our influence for peace into the scale of peace.

"I note in passing what you will all remember—the long debates on the subject of what constitutes aggression, or the methods of determining who the aggressor might be, and on who the aggressor in past wars had been. Academically this may have been instructive, as it may have been of interest to historians to discuss the pros and cons and the rights and wrongs of the World War during the decade that followed it.

"But in the light of problems of today and tomorrow, responsibility for acts of aggression is not concealed and the writing of the record can safely be left to future historians.

Sufficient Realism

"There has been sufficient realism in the United States to see how close to our own shores came dangerous paths which were being followed on other continents.

"Last January I told the Congress that 'a war which threatened to envelop the world in flames has been averted, but it has become increasingly clear that peace is not assured.' By April new tension had developed; a new crisis was in the making. Several nations with whom we had friendly diplomatic and commercial relations had lost or were in the process of losing their independent identity and sovereignty.

"During the spring and summer the trend was definitely toward further acts of military conquest and away from peace. As late as the end of July I spoke to members of the Congress about the definite possibility of war. I should have called it the probability of war.

"Last January also I spoke to this Congress of the need for further warning of new threats of conquest, military and economic; of challenge to religion, to democracy, and to international good faith. I said: 'An ordering of Society which relegates religion, democracy, and good faith among nations to the background can find no place within it for the ideals of the Prince of Peace. The United States rejects such an ordering and retains its ancient faith.'

Need For Action

"We know what might happen to us of the United States if the new philosophies of force were to encompass the other continents and invade our own. We, no more than other nations, can afford to be surrounded by the enemies of our faith and our humanity. Fortunate it is therefore that in this Western Hemisphere we have, under a common ideal of democratic government, rich diversity of resources and of the peoples functioning together in mutual respect and peace.

"Last January in the same message I also said: 'We have learned that when we deliberately try to legislate neutrality, our neutrality laws may operate unevenly and unfairly—may actually give the aid to an aggressor and deny it to the victim. The instinct of self-preservation should warn us that we ought not to let that happen any more.'

"It was because of what I foresaw last January, from watching the trends in foreign affairs and their probable effect upon us, that I recommended to the Congress in July of this year that changes be enacted in our neutrality law.

Essentials Changed

"The essentials for American peace in the world have not changed since January. That is why I ask you again to re-examine our own legislation.

"Beginning with the foundation of our constitutional government in the year 1780 the American policy in respect to belligerent nations, with one notable exception, has been based on international law. Be it remembered that what we call international law has had as its primary objectives the avoiding of causes of war and the prevention of the extension of war.

"The single exception was the policy adopted by this nation during the Napoleonic Wars, when seeking to avoid involvement we acted for some years under the so-called Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts. That policy turned

out to be a disastrous failure—first because it brought our own nation close to ruin, and second because it was the major cause of bringing us into active participation in European wars in our own war of 1812. It is merely reciting history to recall to you that one of the results of the policy of embargo and non-interference was the burning in 1814 of part of this Capitol in which we are assembled.

Next Deviation

"Our next deviation by statute from the sound principles of neutrality and peace through international law did not come for 130 years. It was the so-called Neutrality Act of 1935—only four years ago—an Act continued in force by the joint resolution of May 1, 1937, despite grave doubts expressed as to its wisdom by many Senators and Representatives and by officials charged with the conduct of our foreign relations, including myself. I regret that the Congress passed that Act. I regret equally that I signed the Act.

"On July 14 of this year I asked the Congress, in the cause of peace and in the interest of real American neutrality and security, to take action to change that Act.

"I now ask again that such action be taken in respect to that part of the Act which is wholly inconsistent with ancient precepts of the law of nations—the embargo provisions. I ask it because they are in my opinion most vitally- dangerous to American neutrality, American security, and American peace.

"These embargo provisions as they exist today prevent the sale to a belligerent by an American factory of any completed implements of war, but they allow the sale of many types of uncompleted implements of war, as well as all kinds of general material and supplies. They furthermore allow such products of industry and agriculture to be taken in American flag ships to belligerent nations. There in itself—under the present law—lies definite danger to our neutrality and our peace.

Material View

"From a purely material point of view, what is the advantage to us in sending all manner of articles across the ocean for final processing there when we could give employment to thousands by doing it here? Incidentally, and again from the material point of view, by such employment we automatically aid our own national defense. And if abnormal profits appear in our midst even in time of peace as a result of this increase of industry, I feel certain that the subject will be adequately dealt with at the coming regular session of the Congress.

"Let me set forth the present paradox of the existing legislation in its simplest terms; if prior to 1935 a general war had broken out in Europe, the United States would have sold to and bought from belligerent nations such goods and products of all kinds as the belligerent nations, with their existing facilities and geographical situations, were able to buy from us or sell to us. This would have been the normal practice under the age old doctrines of international law. Our prior position accepted the facts of geography, and of conditions of land power and sea power alike as they existed in all parts of the world. If a war in Europe had broken out prior to 1935 there would have been no difference, for example, between our exports of sheets of aluminum and airplane wings; today there is an artificial legal difference. Before 1935 there would have been no difference between the export of cotton and the export of gun cotton. Today there is. Before 1935 there would have been no difference between the shipment of brass tubing in pipe form and brass tubing in shell form. Today there is. Before 1935 there would have been no difference between the export of a motor truck and an armored motor truck. Today there is.

"Let us be factual and recognize that a belligerent nation often needs wheat and lard and cotton for the survival of its population, just as much as it needs anti-aircraft guns and anti-submarine depth charges. Let those who seek to retain the present embargo position be wholly consistent and seek new legislation to cut off cloth and copper and meat and a thousand other articles from all of the nations at war.

"I seek a greater consistency through the repeal of the embargo provisions, and a return to international law. I seek reenactment of the historic and traditional American policy, which except for the disastrous interlude of the Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts, has served us well for nearly a century and a half.

Not War Move

"It has been erroneously said that return to that policy might bring us nearer to war. I give to you my deep and unalterable conviction, based on years of experience as a worker in the field of international peace, that by the repeal of the embargo the United States will more probably remain at peace than if the law remains as it stands today. I say that because with the repeal of the embargo this Government clearly and definitely will insist that American citizens and American ships keep away from the immediate perils of the actual zones of conflict.

Repeal Demanded

"Repeal of the embargo and a return to international law are the crux of this issue.

"The enactment of the embargo provisions did more than merely reverse our traditional policy. It had the effect of putting land powers on the same footing as naval powers so far as sea-borne commence was concerned. A land power which threatened war could thus feel assured in advance that any prospective sea-power antagonist would be weakened through denial of its ancient right to buy anything anywhere. This, four years ago, gave a definite advantage to one belligerent as against another, not through his own strength or geographic position, but through an affirmative act of ours. Removal of the embargo is merely reverting to the sounder international practice and pursuing, in time of war as in time of peace, our ordinary trade policies. This will be liked by some and disliked by others, depending on the view they take of the present war, but that is not the issue. The step I recommend is to put this country back on the solid footing of real and traditional neutrality.

"When and if repeal of the embargo is accomplished, certain other phases of policy reinforcing American safety should be considered. While nearly all of us are in agreement on their objectives, the only question relates to methods.

Changing War Zones

"I believe that American merchant vessels should, so far as possible, be restricted from entering danger zones. War zones may change so swiftly and so frequently in the days to come that it is impossible to fix them permanently by Act of Congress; specific legislation may prevent adjustment to constant and quick change. It seems, therefore, more practical to eliminate them through action of the State Department and administrative agencies. The objective of restricting American ships from entering such zones may be attained by prohibiting such entry by the Congress; or the result can be substantially achieved by executive proclamation that all such voyages are solely at the risk of the American owners themselves.

"The second objective is to prevent American citizens from traveling on belligerent vessels or in danger areas. This can also be accomplished, then, only by legislation, through continuance in force of certain provisions of existing law, or by proclamation making it clear to all Americans that any such travel is at their own risk. The third objective requiring the foreign buyer to take transfer of title in this country of commodities purchased by belligerents is also a result which can be attained by legislation or substantially achieved through due notice by proclamation.

"The fourth objective is the preventing of war credits to belligerents. This can be accomplished by maintaining in force existing provisions of law or by proclamation, making it clear that if credits are granted by American citizens to belligerents our Government will take no steps in the future to relieve them of risk or loss. The result of these last two will be to require all purchases to be made in cash and cargoes to be carried in the purchasers' own ships at the purchasers' own risk.

"Two other objectives have been amply attained by existing law, namely regulating collection of funds in this country for belligerents, and the maintenance of a license system covering import and export of arms, ammunition and implements of war. Under present enactments such arms cannot be carried to belligerent countries on American vessels and this provision should not be disturbed.

"The Congress of course should make its own choice of the method by which these safeguards are to be attained

so long as the method chosen will meet the needs of new and changing day to day situations and dangers.

"To those who say that this program would involve a step toward war on our part, I reply that it offers far greater safeguards than we now possess or have ever possessed to protect American lives and property from danger. It is a positive program for giving safety. This means less likelihood of incidents and controversies which tend to draw us into conflict as they did in the last World War. There lies the road to peace!

American Defenses

"The position of the executive branch of the Government, in that the age old and time honored doctrine of international law coupled with these positive safeguards, is better calculated than any other means to keep us out of this war.

"In respect to our own defense you are aware that I have issued a proclamation setting forth 'a national emergency in connection with the observance, safeguarding and enforcement of neutrality, and the strengthening of the national defense within the limits of peace time authorizations.' This was done solely to make wholly constitutional and legal certain obviously necessary measures. I have authorized increases in the personnel of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard which will bring all four to a total still below peace-time strength as authorized by the Congress.

"I have authorized the State Department to use for the repatriation of Americans caught in the war zone $500,000 already authorized by the Congress.

"I have authorized the addition of 150 persons to the Department of Justice to be used in the protection of the United States against subsersive foreign activities within our borders.

"At this time I ask for no other authority from the Congress. At this time I see no need for further executive action under the proclamation of limited national emergency.

"Therefore, I see no compelling reason for the consideration of other legislation at this extraordinary session of the Congress.

"It is of course possible that in the months to come unforeseen needs for further legislation may develop, but they are not imperative today.

Leaders Asked To Stay

"These perilous days demand cooperation between us without trace of partisanship. Our acts must be guided by one single hard-headed thought — keeping America out of this war. In that spirit I am asking the leaders of the two major parties in the Senate and in the House of Representatives to remain in Washington between the close of this extraordinary session and the beginning of the regular session on January 3. They have assured me that they will do so, and I expect to consult with them at frequent intervals on the course of events in foreign affairs and on the need for future action in this field, whether it be executive or legislative action.

"Further, in the event of any future danger to the security of the United States or in the event of need for any new legislation of importance, I will immediately reconvene the Congress in another extraordinary session.

"Darker Periods Lie Ahead"

"I should like to be able to offer the hope that the shadow over the world might swiftly pass. I cannot. The facts compel my stating with candor that darker periods may lie ahead. The disaster is not of our making; no act of ours engineered the forces which assault the foundations of civilization. Yet we find ourselves affected to the core; our currents of commerce are changing, our minds are filled with new problems, our position in world affairs has already been altered.

"In such circumstances our policy must be to appreciate in the deepest sense the true American interest. Rightly considered this interest is not selfish. Destiny first made us with our sister nations on this hemisphere, joints heirs of European culture. Fate seems now to compel us to assume the task of helping to maintain in the Western World a citadel wherein that civilization may be kept alive. The peace, the integrity, and the safety of the Americas—these must be kept firm and serene. In a period when it is sometimes said that free discussion is no longer compatible with national safety, may you by your deeds show the world that we of the United States are one people, of one mind, one spirit, one clear resolution, walking before God in the light of the living."

Yu Yuen Road is Closed To U. S. Servicemen

Yu Yuen Road, extra-Settlement thoroughfare running through a section of the "Badlands" in the Western District of Shanghai, was placed out of bounds to American servicemen following the arrest and detention of a member of the Fourth U. S. Marines by Ta Tao policemen last Sunday night.

According to available information, the American serviceman became involved in an altercation with a Chinese watchman employed at the Welcome Cafe on Yu Yuen Road, opposite Jessfield Park. The watchman blew his whistle and 20 Ta Tao policemen responded. They overpowered the marine, put him on a truck and took him to the Ta Tao police station on Jessfield Road, where he was detained for nearly two hours.

Yu Yuen Road, especially in the vicinity of Jessfield Park, is lined with bars, cafes, and bingo joints which derive much of their income from American and other foreign servicemen. The Winter Garden, well-known night-spot owned by Mr. J. James ("Jimmy"), is in the same area. The Ta Tao authorities derived considerable revenues from taxing the Chinese-owned joints which abut on Yu Yuen Road. The action of the American authorities in declaring Yu Yuen Road out of bounds is likely to considerably affect both the income of the joints and the revenues of the Ta Tao administration.

Chinese Workers Sink Japanese Ship at Kiangnan Dock

The Japanese military authorities have arrested more than 100 Chinese laborers employed at the Kiangnan Dock on the upper Whangpoo because of their alleged action in sinking a ship which the Japanese had taken there for repairs. According to the *Shun Pao* the Japanese had refloated a Chinese cargo steamer which the Chinese military had used to form part of a boom across the Yangtsze. The boat was towed to Kiangnan where it was placed in drydock and after four months work was thought to be ready for service. But shortly after it had been towed into the Whangpoo, the ship developed a "leak" and sank in the river. The Japanese charged the laborers with sabotage and placed a large number under arrest.

The Kiangnan Dock and Engineering Works, located several miles up the Whangpoo from Shanghai, was a government enterprise, managed by the Chinese naval authorities. When the Japanese occupied the Shanghai district they seized the property and handed it over to the Mitsubishi Dockyard of Japan as a gift. Since that time it has been used to repair Japanese warships and transports. More than 4,000 Chinese laborers are employed in the plant, all having been recruited by labor contractors who are responsible for their good conduct.

Many U. S. Consuls In Europe Previously Had Service Here

A few days ago there was a report from the European front telling of an American consular official, previously stationed in Poland, who was forced to swim a river in order to escape from a city which was being bombed by the Germans. The official was Wm. R. Morton, who once served as a vice-consul in Harbin. He was but one of many U. S. Foreign Service Officers, previously stationed in China, whose names have been mentioned in the dispatches since the outbreak of the war in Europe.

The first mentioned probably was Cornelius Van Engert, Secretary of Embassy at Peiping in 1930 who was made Minister to Abyssinia, just in time to be in the center of Mussolini's occupation of that unfortunate country. Of more recent interest, however, was the presence in Warsaw, capital of Poland, of John K. Davis, formerly stationed in Nanking. Douglas Jenkins, Jr., formerly stationed in Hankow, Nanking and Chungking, was also in Warsaw when the Germans launched their drive into Poland.

Several others, who had experience in China in recent years, were stationed in Spain when civil war broke out in that country. Mahlon Perkins, long experienced in China, was in Madrid when that city was bombed and shelled. Lynn Franklin, previously stationed in Chefoo, was in Barcelona. Charles A. Bay, formerly at Tientsin, was also in Spain and George Graves, formerly stationed in Hankow, was in Valencia.

Yunnan Province Now Undergoing Rapid Development

BY C. Y. W. MENG (孟長泳)

YUNNAN, or "South of Clouds," situated between Szechwan in the north and French Indo-China in the south, is a frontier province. Only two years ago, it was simply one of China's outlying territories, largely unexploited and thinly populated. Of an area of 398,583 square kilometers, only 4.52 per cent was cultivated. But today Yunnan Province is rapidly becoming not only an important Chinese economic base but also a center of growing international interest.

The province is now playing an important part in the "War of Resistance" and in national economic reconstruction. The international importance of the province will be further enhanced with the completion of two new railways which will link up Burma, Kunming (capital city of Yunnan) and Szechwan. Chinese engineers are racing against time to complete these lines by 1941.

Lung Yun's Attitude

In a speech before the Provincial People's Political Council on July 20, Governor Lung Yun said: "Yunnan is a very important and hopeful province. It is only through offering all our resources to the nation that we can expect a bright future. The idea held by certain people that Yunnan can take things easy during the war since it is far in the rear, is a suicidal policy and should never be considered seriously".

Reviewing the military affairs of the province, Governor Lung said: "Since this province received orders from the National Government to send troops to the front to participate in the war, two armies, the 60th and 58th, with a total strength of 70,000 men, were dispatched to the battle-field. Subsequently, eight batches of reinforcements were sent to the front. To date, 130,000 regular troops and reinforcements have marched from the province. Another 20,000 men are being trained for service, while 30,000 others, first reservists in the various districts, may also be sent to the front lines at any time. At the start of the war, it was said that this province would send 200,000 men to fight the enemy. If necessary, this province will send more to the front".

Training the Youth

By 1932, all able-bodied youths in Yunnan province, numbering 1,100,000 men, will have been trained at a rate of 370,000 a year. This is the latest program of the Citizens' Military Training Bureau of Yunnan, which has the mayor of Kunming, General C. F. Pei, as its director.

According to the 3-Year Army Training Plan, all adults in Yunnan between the ages of 18 and 36 must undergo a period of political education and military drill which will be carried out in every one of the 130 administrative units of the province. The enforcement of this extensive program for the training of Yunnan youths further indicates the preparedness of this province, not only in national reconstruction but also in prolonged military resistance as well.

Like other provinces, Yunnan has also its own 5-Year Reconstruction Plan which, we are told, is aimed at the increase of the annual value of Yunnanese production to the level of $100,000,000. The Reconstruction Bureau is charged with the tasks of research and technical planning for all the various projects suggested or desired for the benefit of the province's 12,000,000 inhabitants.

It is hoped that in five years Yunnan's silk production will be raised to an annual output valued at $40,000,000. The detailed program mapped out for the provincial silk industry will introduce scientific methods of sericulture that will lift the annual production, by the time of the completion of the plan, to 10,000 piculs annually. At present the province exports only small quantities of silk to the United States, but with further improvement of quality it is expected that the outgoing volume will reach a total of 5,000 quintals within two years.

Tea Production Program

Tea ranks next in importance on the list of Yunnan's reconstruction projects. It is hoped that the center of China's tea production can be transferred from the famous tea districts of coastal China to the highlands of Yunnan. Hundreds of tea cultivators have come here from the coast and have established new tea colonies on scientific principles. Favored both by climate and by skillful care, it is hoped that Yunnanese tea will match, if not excel, in popularity abroad so famous a brand as the Keemun tea which is the boast of coastal China.

Yunnanese efforts are not alone limited to the stimulation of production for export; the provincial authorities are also giving great attention to the cultivation of those agricultural products in which the province has hitherto been deficient. Although each year the production

"Producing for Resistance"

Woodcut by Chang Hui.

of fodstuffs in Yunnan reaches impressive levels (rice: 20,000,000 quintals a year, produced on 1,700,000 acres in the southwest; wheat: 600,000 quintals, produced on 900,000 acres in the northwest), the present yield per acre in the province is rather low. The production goal for rice is set at the coastal standard of 4,200 catties from each acre of rice field. Attention is also being given to the production and improvement of wheat, for Yunnan, due in part to the lack of mills, imports no less than 10,000,000 catties of flour annually (a catty is approximately one and a half pounds).

The suppression of poppy cultivation in the province will enable the farmers to utilize 1,700,000 acres of fertile land for rice and wheat production. These 1,700,000 acres of land, which roughly equal the total acreage of Yunnanese rice fields at present, will help to build up so huge a food surplus that the province will not only feed its own greatly increased wartime population but will also export to places where foodstuffs are not so abundant.

Although the area suitable for cotton cultivation is limited, the Yunnan authorities are studying the possibilities of providing improved raw cotton sufficient to supply a mill of 20,000 spindles as a first step towards self-sufficiency. Meanwhile the cultivation of *gossypium barbadense*, a special kind of cotton produced in Yunnan that has the longest and thinnest fiber in the world, will be extended to the southern part of the province.

As to the development of the province's rich mineral resources, the provincial and national governments are cooperating. Already in operation under joint control are a $3,000,000 copper smelting company, a $20,000,000 iron and steel works, and others. In addition to these, the Provincial Finance Bureau has a large industrial stake of its own: a $6,000,000 tin-smelting company, a $1,500,000 hydraulic power plant, a $3,000,000 salt manufacturing plant, and the $4,000,000 Yunnan Mining Administration.

The Yunnan-Burma Railway

There is another monumental work which is going on in Yunnan today, i.e., the construction of the Yunnan-Burma Railway which, when completed, will be perhaps the most important communication line between interior China and the outside world. The construction was begun on December 25, 1938. It is now progressing rapidly from both ends. The authorities believe that by narrowing the gauge on the western section of the railway from one meter to six-tenths of a meter, the problem of the supply of labor and materials during construction will be greatly simplified. The project will require the labor of 100,000 workers and an expenditure of $100,000,000, in addition to the cost of material and equipment purchased aboard.

At present, the construction of the railway is under the direction of Mr. Tu Cheng-yuan, who has behind him a brilliant record as the director of the Chekiang-Kiangsi and Hunnan-Kwangsi railways. It was he who brought the 215-mile Hengyang-Kweilin section of the Hunan-Kwangsi railway to completion in less than ten months. The appointment of Mr. Tu to head the construction of the Yunnan-Burma railway further indicates the desire of the government for quickest possible completion.

The new railway will cross the Mekong and Salween Rivers which will in turn carry away part of its transit cargo for distribution in Sikang and Chinghai provinces in the north. From the west Yunnan-Burma border to Kunming will take at most four days, where before the war regular overland transport required a total of 38 days of travel along the old route from the provincial capital to the southwest frontier. The railway will traverse more than 100 tunnels and a number of bridges

To Haul 300 Tons Daily

The completion of the new railway will necessarily relegate the service of the newly constructed Yunnan-Burma highway to secondary importance. Although built in narrow one-meter and 0.60-meter gauge, the newly railway will still have a minimum freight capacity of 300 tons a day or approximately 10,000 tons a month. Fueled with the coal that can be readily supplied by the rich provincial mines, it will save both time and expense in transportation.

Experts estimate that the more than $100,000,000 construction cost of the new railway will be easily earned back in a little over a year. Furthermore, the addition of rail to highway transportation between Burma and interior China will release a large number of trucks, formerly used on the Yunnan-Burma highway, for military use behind the front lines.

The upward trend of Yunnan's international and domestic commerce became noticeable immediately following the fall of Hankow and Canton last October as the customs revenue collected at Mengtze increased to $4,424,197.34 in 1938, when it had been $3,008,433.56 in 1937. Of the total trade in 1938, the value of exports was $41,849,454.00 and that of imports was $31,315,571.00, leaving a favorable balance of $10,533,883.

The trade figures of the other two districts—Tengyueh and Szemao—although small, all showed considerable increase in both exports and imports in 1938 over 1937. A close parallel in the trade increases in these centers can be drawn from the figures of the Langchow customs on the Kwangsi-French Indo-China border which increased from $80,000 in November, 1937 to $800,000 in November, 1938.

Such noteworthy increase in customs clearances in Yunnan is conclusive evidence that "South of Clouds" is now no longer an outlying territory but rather a center for domestic and international trade!

A Flourishing City

Kaiyuen, situated more than 280 kilometers south of Kunming, half way to the Indo-China border, is now one of the most flourishing commercial cities of Mengtze. In Kaiyuen, there is a hydraulic power plant, probably one of the largest in inland China. The construction of this plant was started in 1937, and is to be completed by the end of this year. Beside supplying electricity for lighting and for running machinery in and around Kaiyuen, its current will be utilized for conveying large quantities of tin ore from the Kochiu mines to Mengtze, where the water from the nearby lake will be sufficient to wash the raw minerals.

It is said that more than $2,000,000 has been spent on this power plant. Every day 1,000 workers, 30 per cent of whom are women, are engaged in the work ,with German and Austrian engineers as technical advisers.

Cultural Development

The assimilation of the tribesmen (or aborigines) and the natives has always been a serious problem to the frontier provincial authorities. The tribesmen constitute no less than one-third of Yunnan's 12,000,000 people. But the time is not far distant when all will be united into the big family of the Chinese race. Initiated by the provincial Kuomintang headquarters and with the cooperation of the bureau of education and civil affairs, the program to assimilate some 4,000,000 tribesmen in the province aims at the full development of the human and natural resources in those regions which as yet are little utilized. When effectively carried out, the scheme will not only improve the living conditions of these groups but will also result in a great contribution from them towards national reconstruction. This program of the provincial government, which has been submitted to the National Government for approval, is to be coordinated with the other frontier administrative and educational policies recently formulated in Chungking.

The scheme calls for absolute equality and justice in the treatment of all natives of China. This is most important because such fair and enlightened rule will result in a better understanding and closer friendship between the tribesmen and the natives. Meanwhile, equal and simultanous development of the Kuomintang principles, administrative reform and education will be emphasized in districts where the majority of the inhabitants are the tribesmen. In introducing such a policy, there is to be no racial or geographical discrimination whatsoever, and citizens training will be extended to everyone within the boundary, regardless of his sex, beliefs or economic status. Mass migration into these regions will be encouraged so as to gradually unite all the groups into one.

We are informed that this program calls for the establishment of normal schools and teachers' training classes in the districts of Tehching, Teng-yueh, Mien-ning, Chengkang, Cheh-li and Kai-hui, all in southwest Yunnan. At the same time, provincial elementary schools and preparatory teachers' training classes will be established in 29 different places along the frontier.

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The Price of Peace in the Modern World

BY ROGER S. GREENE

(The Christian Century)

Editor's Note:—The writer of this article, Mr. Roger S. Greene, was for many years director of the medical work of the Rockefeller Foundation in China. The large Peking Union Medical College was under his personal direction, as also was the China Medical Board. Following his retirement in 1935, he was appointed executive secretary of the World Citizens' Association, with headquarters at Worcester, Massachusetts. Mr. Greene is a graduate of Harvard, served for a considerable time in the U. S. Consular Service at Rio de Janeiro, Nagasaki, Kobe, Vladivostok, Dairen, Harbin and Hankow. He retired from the service in 1914 to join Rockefeller Foundation as vice-president for the Far East.

IF, in a company of a hundred young people, you were to ask how many would like to become either rich or eminent, probably at least ninety-five would raise their hands. After twenty years it would probably be found that only one or two had been determined enough to pay the price when they learned what success would cost in sacrifice of leisure, in abandonment of favorite pleasures and in severe concentration of effort.

Our enthusiasm for peace is not very different. We are all for it until we know what it may cost; then most of us are apt to think that the full price is too much. We may buy it so long as it is going cheap, but when the price goes up, as it sometimes does like the quotation on a popular stock, we prefer simply to hope that peace will happen by good luck without any sacrifice of our own, just as some people hope that wealth will come from a gamble or by the generosity of a rich relative.

What kinds of prices have to be paid for peace, or for fairly reliable insurance against war? Sometimes when conditions are favorable peace can actually be had very cheap.

When Peace is Cheap

Readiness to be courteous and considerate in word and deed to other nations, their rulers and their people is not very much to concede for peace, but there are actually times when you can at least reduce the risk of war by such an attitude. Yet even when such a price is mentioned some of those who thought that they wanted peace begin to lose interest. There are politicians, writers and ordinary citizens who insist on despising people who are different from themselves or, when they exercise their right or duty to condemn the faulty policy of some foreign nation, instead of dealing calmly and critically with the facts, mingle abusive epithets and generalizations with their argument. Sometimes positive deeds, which still do not cost much, are demanded by international courtesy. For example, many people in Asia feel keenly the injustice of their exclusion from the immigration quota system. We ought to extend this privilege to them, especially since it would not materially increase the number of their people admitted.

A Fair Record

As nations go, our country has a fair record for observing its international obligations, yet even so there are not a few cases in which we have broken either the letter or the spirit of agreements with other nations, or as to which foreign governments sincerely believe that we have done so. A part of the cost of peace is the strict observance of all our obligations and a firm determination not to ignore them or to modify them by our own unilateral action, or to evade them on purely legalistic grounds.

It is perhaps largely a matter of doing as we would be done by, and actually taking the trouble to think how we should feel if the positions were reversed, though this is hard for rich nations and individuals to do in their relations with the less prosperous. It is also a matter of common sense, for the other fellow often has means of hitting back if he thinks you are treating him unfairly. We exclude Argentine beef on the rather flimsy pretext of sanitary precautions, and talk about dumping our grain on Argentina's customers by means of a bounty. Then we are hurt because Argentina does not cooperate enthusiastically with us.

If the market rises a bit, the time comes when something more nearly approaching real money has to be paid for our war risk insurance. Real generosity or, to put it more accurately, far-sightedness, may be called for. Perhaps to get our coverage we should be called on to forego some real or imaginary immediate advantage. As we look back on the last twenty years it seems as if we might possibly have forestalled this terrible epidemic of wars throughout the world, which has caused even remote America incalculable loss in money and peace of mind, if we had offered to be more lenient in our claims on Britain and France if they in turn would be more lenient to Germany and Austria. When we think of the billions we are spending and shall spend on armaments, it makes us wonder whether the sacrifice would not have been worth trying, especially when we

They Are Riding Again

Chicago Tribune.

are not getting the money from our debtors anyway. Still, when any such price for peace insurance is suggested, the number of buyers becomes a good deal smaller.

If we want to get as nearly perfect coverage against war as it is humanly possible to get, we must be ready to offer some things much more substantial than those that I have mentioned. In fact the price is going to look very steep as we go into the matter, though compared with modern war it may still be a good bargain.

Substantial Payments Required

The world is getting very small and almost all parts of it are beginning to learn a great deal about how the other parts live. Some nations are rich and others are miserably poor. Among the poor we need not count the nations of central and western Europe, for some of them may actually be better off than we are, and those which are not have the remedy largely in their own hands. But the people in many parts of Asia and Africa are really poor, and millions die there of starvation, disease and war. Now they are beginning to abandon the fatalistic idea that what is must be, and to believe that with modern armaments they may secure a fairer share of the good things of life. Not many people in Europe and America are as yet willing to give up much to insure a better life for those less fortunate peoples. Yet the time may be upon us when we shall have to pay in this way for peace.

We may comfort ourselves by the thought that the world has not come to an end because of social and political revolutions within our own nations, and that perhaps a square deal internationally might even leave us better off in the things that really matter. To pay the whole price all at once may be too much to ask of human nature. If we are quick about it we may be able to pay on the installment plan, making concessions gradually, and so easing the shock. This would probably mean making our tariff more favorable to advanced nations like the Japan of today and the independent China of tomorrow, and aiding in other ways the development of backward countries.

But in spite of courtesy, common sense, far-sighted generosity and readiness for an international square deal, specific questions, some of great importance, are certain to arise on which we do not see eye to eye with other nations and cannot talk or bargain ourselves into agreement. For after all we shall always remain human beings and shall ourselves always be in danger of acting unwisely or unjustly. How are claims against us to be settled? Are we going to sit tight in our wealth, isolation and power, and say that all controversies must be settled our way if at all, virtually asking the claimant, if he does not like it, what he is going to do about it?

The Big Price

Here we come to the big price that we have to pay if we are truly and intelligently devoted to peace. We must be ready to submit all international disputes to impartial adjudication, without jokers such as reservation of vital interests, or limitations to "justiciable" questions, or requiring a special treaty to be discussed and ratified by the Senate before an arbitration can take place. Provisions of this sort nullify almost every treaty that we have signed for the peaceful settlement of disputes. This is the price that some of our most earnest opponents of armaments and most ardent advocates of peace declare they are unwilling to pay. They will endure no external limitations on our freedom of action.

Fundamentally their position differs hardly at all from that of the nations which we call aggressors, for these also claim that they cannot tolerate any limits upon their freedom to act as they think their interests dictate. After all, that is what we are objecting to as practiced in Europe and Asia. Some of the things that Germany, for example, has wanted seem reasonable enough. It is her making of herself plaintiff, judge and sheriff that we mainly object to, rather than the particular claims she makes, even if we do not approve of all that she demands. Let us not talk too loudly about our love for peace and justice until we are willing to stop ranging ourselves with the "aggressor" nations on this fundamental principle.

While our people may feel that they would lose more than they would gain by submitting to a real world court, there are times when we might gain some more immediate advantages than the general furthering of the cause of peace. By the terms of the Pact of Paris we are debarred from trying to settle diplomatic questions by force of arms. War is admittedly a bad way of settling controversies, yet it does sometimes end them. If we forswear war and refuse to agree to judicial settlements as an invariable routine, we leave ourselves no effective way of closing an unhealthy and dangerous controversy. Our controversy with Mexico over the confiscation of American properties is a case in point. Not being able either to use force or to summon Mexico into court, we find ourselves in an impasse.

Scrap-Iron Pickets

The Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression at Tacoma, Washington, on June 24, picketed and prevented the loading of the British freighter Bonnington Court with scrap iron destined for Japan. The vessel was finally forced to sail empty. The picket line was headed by Prof. Douglas Rughe of the College of Puget Sound, a large number of students and members of the Longshoremen's Union. Banners carried by the picketers contained such slogans as, "Each Shipload Means More War," "Stop Scrap-Iron from Tacoma," "Why Bombs to Japan and Bandages to China?" "Uncle Sam Wants Peace in China."

But If Injustice Threatens?

We must be prepared to have a certain proportion of the judgments in which we are concerned seem quite unjust. In some cases the decision will actually fall far short of real justice. That is the way of courts everywhere. It is part of the price that we pay for civil order. Courts are human institutions; we cannot expect that they will be uniformly just, but we may demand of them that they effect a settlement that will enable everyone to get back to his regular work and forget the past. In any case we are likely to get more justice through peaceful adjudication than through wars.

All true lovers of peace should be able to go so far. There is one more step which seems logical to many who believe that force is ultimately necessary for restraint of the delirious, the insane and the criminal within our national communities. They believe that force dispassionately applied may sometimes be necessary as a final recourse to insure obedience to a just international principle. Those who oppose war in any circumstances have a strong case and if they will not go along with me the whole way I shall not quarrel with them. Nevertheless the evil after-effects of war, which form the strongest part of their argument, are largely due to the fact that in the past force has almost always been applied by deeply interested parties and not by a reasonably impartial authority. If force were applied by

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Nippon Envoy Invites Chiang to Join Wang's Puppet Government

ADMIRAL NOMURA BECOMES JAPAN'S FOREIGN MINISTER

Admiral Kichisaburo Nomura (retired), President of the Peers' School, who was Commander-in-Chief of Japan's Third Fleet at Shanghai during the Sino-Japanese hostilities in the early part of 1932, was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in Tokyo on Sept. 23. He has taken over the post from General Abe, the Premier, who held it concurrently since Aug. 30, when his Cabinet took office. The new Foreign Minister is expected to make numerous changes in Japan's diplomatic representation abroad.

THE most important declaration made in a long time by any responsible Japanese official with regard to Sino-Japanese relations was uttered by Mr. Sotomatsu Kato, Japanese Minister-at-Large in China, in an interview at Peiping on Sept. 23, reported by the *Reuter* agency. Kato asserted that any member of the Chungking Government, including Gen. Chiang Kai-shek, was welcome to join the new Central Government of China when it was formed, "provided they changed fundamentally their views, especially regarding the Communists."

This statement, to the extent that it may be regarded as an expression of official Japanese opinion, modifies somewhat the stand of the Japanese Government, which, through Premier Prince Konoye, in the spring of last year, declared that Japan would never treat with the Chiang Kai-shek regime. Japan has already announced her intention of recognizing the new Chinese "Central Government" which is expected to make its debut on Oct. 10 under the leadership of Wang Ching-wei, and it is rumored that Mr. Sotomatsu Kato will be Japan's first diplomatic representative to the new government.

What it Meant

Political observers in Shanghai are speculating as to whether Kato's declaration was an invitation to the Chungking Government to join the to-be-formed Wang Ching-wei government en bloc on terms to be worked out, or whether it was a trial balloon intended to test feeling in Chungking and possibly foment a split in the ranks of the Chungking government and its supporters.

A significant report on the subject was brought from Tokyo by *United Press* the same day that Minister Kato issued his declaration. Quoting Japanese reports from Berlin, the agency said that Germany intended to consult the Soviet Union regarding the proposed new regime to be established by Wang Ching-wei and that the Reich Government "may even possibly attempt mediation between the Chungking administration and Mr. Wang's new proposed government."

Tying in with this report was an unconfirmed report from Hongkong on Sept. 19 *(Reuter)* to the effect that Prince Konoye, ex-premier of Japan, had arrived in the British colony to establish contact with representatives of the Chungking government for the purpose of discussing peace between China and Japan. Two days later, another unconfirmed report from the British colony, appearing in the *Sin Wan Pao*, said that Gen. Chang Chun, vice-president of the Executive Yuan, had left Chungking "on an important mission."

Slipping!

London Tribune

Indicating the reactions of Chinese financial and business interests to the peace rumors, the Chinese dollar enjoyed a short period of comparative strength last week, but this ended on Sept. 22 when emphatic declarations from Chungking were taken to indicate that peace is still not "just around the corner." Prices of British and U.S. currency advanced again on the local market, while commodity prices again commenced moving upward.

An emphatic denial that there was any truth in the peace rumors circulating in Shanghai was issued in Chungking Sept. 21 by Foreign Minister Wang Chung-wei. "China," he said, "will not be prepared to accept any peace overtures not based on fair terms for all countries concerned in the Far East, particularly such terms as will provide for the preservation of China's integrity and the cessation of Japanese aggression. We will continue resistance until a just and durable peace is possible."

Inviting Peace Terms?

This statement, which was regarded in some quarters as an invitation to Japan to state her terms for peace, followed an earlier declaration by Gen. Chiang Kai-shek, made at the meeting of the People's Political Council, in which the Generalissimo expressed confidence in China's ability to win the "final victory" in the war with Japan.

Commenting on the peace rumors in an editorial on Sept. 24, the *Shun Pao*, leading Chinese daily, believed that they might have been circulated by commodity market speculators. At the same time, the paper declared that the most important foundation for the rumors was the alleged change in the Soviet attitude towards the Sino-Japanese conflict following the Soviet-Japanese truce in the Outer Mongolian border fighting. The truce was concluded, the paper opined, to enable Soviet Russia to concentrate her efforts on the invasion of Poland. Britain and France, however, had failed to declare war on Soviet Russia, while Chancellor Hitler also seemed afraid to offend Moscow at present. Consequently, Soviet Russia remained free on her western frontier and was still in a position to deal firmly with Japan.

The paper admitted, in conclusion, that certain changes in the international situation might increase the difficulties of China, but declared they could never alter the country's settled policy of resistance to Japan.

Singapore Permits Nippon Fishermen to Continue

Japanese fishermen in the Straits Settlements, confronted with unemployment when their licenses would be revoked at the end of this month, will be permitted to continue their business until the end of the year, according to a *Domei* report from Tokyo. Thousands of Japanese were affected by this decision of the British authorities which was communicated to Japanese fishing license holders on Sept. 23, according to the report. The British authorities said they had rescinded their earlier decision following the receipt of reports from London of an agreement on the subject between the Japanese and British authorities, *Domei* said.

282,313 Chinese Have Returned to Hongkew

A total of 282,313 Chinese, comprising 31,928 families, had returned to Hongkew, the eastern district and suburbs of Shanghai up to Sept. 10, according to statistics compiled by the rehabilitation section of the Japanese Naval Attache's office. Permits were issued to 8,342 additional families which have not made use of them to date. The Japanese population totalled 55,172 on Sept. 1. The report showed that 487,487 Chinese had obtained passes, individually or in groups, while 63,125 Chinese men and women are employed by foreigners in areas north of the creek.

Moral Rearmament Under Way In Shanghai; 200 Attend Gathering

The "Moral Rearmament" movement with its slogan of "a new way of life" made its debut in Shanghai on Tuesday night of this week when 200 persons assembled at the Metropole Hotel to hear the testimony of a group recently returned from the second international assembly held lately in California. Having taken America and a large part of Europe by storm, M.R.A., of which Dr. Frank Buchman is the leader, expects to establish itself firmly in this city and other parts of Asia.

The gathering at the Metropole Hotel was held under the chairmanship of Mr. Robb Coldbeck, Australian businessman. Those present were called together by personal invitations. They represented a good cross section of the city's upper working groups and while many of them were by no means converts, all listened raptly as speaker after speaker took the rostrum and told how MRA had benefitted him. Many of those present work with the S.M.C.; a scattering of businessmen, Chinese and foreign, and a good number of doctors and teachers also attended. Members of the cloth were conspicuously absent, although Bishop W. P. Roberts of the Episcopal Church was on hand. Another meeting of MRA will probably be called here in the near future specially for religious and church workers.

Several Nationalities Speak

Englishmen, Americans, Chinese and a Scotsman spoke on the problems in their lives which they had been able to conquer through the new way of thinking. It was noticeable that all the speakers had suffered unhappy private lives to varying degrees and for different reasons but all faced the "crowd" before them with an amount of calmness and self assurance which was strikingly similar. When the meeting ended they mingled with the assembled guests over coffee and sandwiches and while conversation naturally turned to MRA there was a pronounced lack of proselytizing. It was usually the guest who guided the conversation towards the *raison d'etre* of the meeting.

One "witness," a doctor's wife, told the gathering of her unhappiness in Shanghai knowing that her husband now working in the Changsha war zone, is continually in danger of his life. MRA, she said, has brought peace of mind to her in the understanding of a guiding force which brings complete harmony to existence. A doctor who has worked in Shanghai for 12 years told how he had experienced the need for a change of outlook on life as he was returning home on leave some years ago, and how he found it in MRA. Two young Chinese girls discussed the selfishness which had ruled their lives until recently when they discovered the new movement.

Precepts Of MRA

Moral Rearmament, according to Mr. Coldbeck, is based on four precepts of Christianity each of which must be experienced in its absolute form to be efficacious. The precepts are: unselfishness, purity, honesty and love.

Delegates to the California assembly who spoke were: Dr. E. S. Tyau, M. D., Dr. Joseph King, M. D., Mr. Z. H. Tong, church worker, Miss Phyllis Teng, teacher, Miss Leatrice Wong, graduate of Yenching U., Mr. Peter Tsai, student of U. of Shanghai, Mr. James Tong, teacher, Mrs. Frank Millican, teacher, Mr. Gardner Tewksbury, student worker in Shanghai, all of whom with Mr. Coldbeck returned here aboard the Empress of Canada on September 19. Other who spoke were Dr. Donald Farquharson of the Lester Chinese Hospital, Mrs. Phillips Green, wife of a doctor of Yale-in-China, Mrs. Clarice Wright and Dr. and Mrs. Logan Roots. Sir Robert Calder-Marshal was a guest of the evening.

Oriental Speakers at the Moral Rearmament Assembly

At the Moral Rearmament Assembly in California, several delegates from Oriental countries delivered broadcast addresses. Left, Mr. Peter Tsai of Huchang University speaks to the Far East from the Treasure Island station in San Francisco Bay. Center, Miss Phyllis Teng, graduate of Yenching, broadcasts to South America. Right, Ma Nyien Tha, well-known Burma educator and a fourth generation Cantonese, delivers an address telling how M.R.A. is bringing about unity among the different races in his country.

Anti-British Drive Continuing Still

The Japanese-fostered campaign against Britons and other foreigners in China took a fresh spurt last week when attention was directed to driving out missionaries from various places in North China.

A group of women missionaries belonging to the United Church of Canada arrived in Peiping from Changteh, north Honan, and reported that the anti-British movement was very strong in that city. Recently, they said, two gate-houses and the mission compound were set on fire and three hand-grenades thrown into the compound, but without causing any casualties. Male missionaries, they continued, had remained behind in order to close up the mission and would arrive in Peiping shortly.

United Press reported from Peiping on Sept. 22 that nine British missionaries had been driven out of Changteh and Hsinhsiang in north Honan. They included Mr. H. A. Boyd and Mr. Stewart Forbes, both of Toronto.

The headquarters of the Anglican Mission in Peiping learned early this week that the Mission's hospital at Hochien, in southern Hopei, had been closed down as a result of the anti-British movement, *Reuter* reported. According to *United Press*, missionaries were being forced out of both Hantan and Hochien, both southern Hopei towns. In the case of the closure of the hospital in Hochien, it was stated that officials of the anti-British movement forced Chinese doctors, nurses and patients to sign a statement that they were withdrawing "voluntarily" and then unceremoniously kicked them out.

In Peiping, *Reuter* reported, the British editor of the Japanese-owned English-language paper (presumably the *Peking Chronicle*, of which W. Sheldon Ridge was the editor) was discharged last week on the ground of incompatibility of his nationality with Japanese neutrality. The paper, however, was left in charge of a German. Servants of British residents in Peiping were continuing to be intimidated, *Reuter* also said.

Kialing Dredging to Save $36 Millions

A conservatively estimated $36,000,000 worth of gasoline and automobile parts can be saved each year and that much foreign exchange can be used for other purposes when work on the Kialing River conservancy is completed, according to a report by the China Information Committee from Chungking. The 190-mile section of the Kialing River between Peisuicheng on the Shensi-Kansu border and Kwangyuan, northern Szechwan trading center, is to be dredged for junk navigation so that goods can be brought from Shensi and Kansu to Chungking more cheaply than by highway. Preliminary dredging is now going on, the report states.

The 430-mile Kialing River has year-long traffic on the 240-mile section between Chungking and Kwangyuan. Junks carrying 30,000 catties can navigate this part of the river even in the low-water season. Ships carrying up to 20,000 catties will be able to ply the 90-mile section between Kwangyuan and Yangpingkwang in southwestern Shensi, while boats carrying 10,000 catties will sail the 100-mile section between Yangpingkwang and Peisuicheng after proper dredging.

Products from and to Lanchow now take the 500-mile highway from Lanchow to Kwangyuan via Tiensui and Hweihsien. From Hweihsien to Peisuicheng, projected head of water transport, is only 21 miles, while from Hweihsien to Kwangyuan, the present terminus, the distance by highway is 250 miles. Therefore, if goods from Lanchow can be loaded on junks at Peisuicheng instead of Kwangyuan, they can save 230 miles of highway transportation and the transportation fee for each ton of goods between the two points may be cut down from $230 to $33.

Saving in Distance

Goods from Paochi, western Shensi railway terminal, to Szechwan, now go by the 250-mile highway to Kwangyuan by way of Shuanshihpu. But if brought to Peisuicheng by way of Shuanshihpu and Hweihsien instead of Kwangyuan for junk transportation, they can save 135 miles of highway transportation and $100 per ton in shipping.

Merchandise from southern Shensi and northern Hupeh now follows the Han River to Hanchung in southern Shensi and is brought down to Kwangyuan for water transport by a 120-mile highway passing through Liehchingpah. But on the other hand, Liehchingpah is only 15 miles from Yangpingkwang on the Kialing. Therefore, if the freight is brought to Yangpingkwang for water transhipment, they can save a motor trip of 45 miles and $36 per ton in transportation charges.

If one sets the transportation capacity of the Kialing at 200 tons of goods a day, the dredging of the river will save about $500,000 a month or $6,000,000 each year. The cost of the dredging of the 190-mile section is estimated at only $300,000. The construction of the 21-mile Hweihsien-Peisuicheng, and the 15-mile Liehchingpah-Yangpingkwang highways costs only $800,000. Besides, with easier river communication, more goods and men will take this route instead of following the highway from Kwangyuan.

The Yellow River Commission is also doing survey work on the upper part of the Kialing and the Tiao River in Kansu, which flows into the Yellow River, with the intention of linking these two rivers to give direct water communication between Lanchow and Chungking. It may be noticed that the upper streams of the two rivers are only 3 miles apart. It is estimated that this piece of work, including a canal and dredging operations, will cost $6,000,000, the report concludes.

Mao Says European War is Imperialist

Mao Tse-tung, leader of the Chinese Communist Party and vice-commander of the 8th Route (former Red) Army in northern Shensi, denounced the European conflict as an "imperialist war" in a recent interview with a correspondent of the *Hsin Hua Daily News* at his headquarters in Yenan.

"The present imperialist war," Mao stated, "is not a righteous war but again a scramble for colonies and spheres of influence—Poland, the Balkan states and the Mediterranean basin. Only a war for the emancipation of oppressed peoples is a righteous war. The Communists will never support the first type of war, only the second."

Mao apparently spoke before his Moscow mentor moved Red Army troops into Poland and joined with Adolf Hitler in partitioning that country into "colonies and spheres of influence."

Chamberlain and Daladier, he went on to say, "are imitiating Germany and Italy and are turning their countries fascist. The danger of a great slaughter is coming to millions of common people, and if they do not want to become cannon fodder they should oppose this imperialist war by all means."

Regarding the Sino-Japanese war, Mao said that China had two roads: Continued resistance and unity mean regeneration, while compromise and division mean national suicide, he said. While opposing Wang Ching-wei and other traitors, he added, China should avoid any internal split and frictions, from whatever source they might come.

Further elucidating his point of view, Mao declared that "if Germany and Italy stopped helping Japan, China should draw nearer to them in order to weaken her enemy. If Great Britain helps our enemy to intimidate us, we should no longer rely on her. We should strengthen our friendship with the Soviet Union, also with the United States. But we should remember that in all the capitalist countries our dependable friends are the common people, not their governments."

Daladier Outlaws the French Communist Party

Moving another big step toward the creation of a totalitarian war regime in France, Premier Daladier this week outlawed the Communist Party and ordered the complete dissolution of all its activities. Communist deputies and senators are to be allowed to retain their parliamentary seats (at least for the time being), but are required to abstain from the political activity in which they have hitherto engaged as members of the Communist Party.

Alone of all the parties in France, the Communists endorsed the Stalin-Hitler pact, despite their previous noisy protestations of devotion to the cause of the "democracies" (including France)) against the "dictatorships."

The Price of Peace

(Continued from Page 167)

an impartial authority its evil effects might be less marked.

It is probably true that it is not worth while to risk the lives of American soldiers to defend our American trade interests abroad, though we rather lightly waste lives by the thousands in preventable accidents and crimes every year. Yet if we push that principle so far as to imply that American lives are so much more precious than those of other people that it would be unjustifiable to risk them *at all* in cooperative efforts with other states to restore order and save thousands or millions elsewhere, we may be politically popular for the moment, but can hardly claim that we are enunciating a universally valid rule, or one that the majority of Americans would be willing to own as the guiding principle of their own conduct as individuals.

In Behalf of World Order

In our domestic law the principle is accepted that a crime is primarily an offense against the whole people, rather than against the individual who is injured, in that the interests of the whole people suffer if peace is disturbed. The time is approaching when it will be recognized that our own selfish interests are far more deeply involved in the maintenance of peace and justice throughout the world than in most of the questions which in the past have led to nationalist wars. If force is ever justifiable there is certainly no cause in which it can be more safely and more reasonably applied than in the defense of world order.

Finally, we must be ready to consider with open and friendly minds all serious proposals for cooperation with other peoples, not only to preserve peace with justice, but also for the maintenance of those world services which are becoming necessary in this modern world. As in our national and municipal governments the varied technical services are coming to overshadow the primitive functions of police and defense, so we may hope that in the world of the future a universal interest of all peoples in constructive work together may provide a solid basis for an enduring peace.

Nippon-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact Would be Futile, Says Tokyo Scribe

BY KENJI TSUNOTANI *(Japan-Soviet News Agency)*

Translated from the "Joho to Kaisetsu," Sept. 10, 1939.

THE conclusion of the German-Soviet non-aggression agreement brought about a sudden change in the world situation. Then came from Berlin and Moscow a rumor to the effect that a similar pact between Japan and the Soviet Union was quite possible. This rumor was based partly on the fact that on August 24, on his departure for Moscow, Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop said to the Japanese Ambassador in Berlin that he would be only too willing to do what he could to adjust relations between Japan and the Soviet Union and partly on the inference that Soviet topshelf leaders, including Stalin and Molotov, were hoping for adjustment of Soviet-Japanese relations.

In this country, too, some people are of the opinion that it is advisable to make a Soviet-Japanese non-aggression pact, in that it may possibly save Japan much cash and care which would otherwise have to be expended on the defenses against the Red Army, and will thereby enable her to concentrate her whole energy and efforts on the huge task of crushing the Chungking Government and of constructing a new order in East Asia. This question is now being disscussed in various quarters.

An Old Question

This is not the first time that the question of a Soviet-Japanese non-aggression pact has come to the fore. In 1931 when Mr. Kenkichi Yoshizawa, whose appointment to the portfolio of Foreign Minister of the Inukai Cabinet had been informally decided on and who was then on his way back from Geneva, received at Moscow a proposal on this question from Foreign Commissar Litvinov. The Soviet Government was at the time feeling ill at ease concerning the border defenses in the Far East and was therefore most anxious to enter into a treaty with Japan, so that it might be relieved of a menace of aggression. The Soviet intention was to strengthen her position on the western border by removing uneasiness from the eastern. At the same time Soviet Russia tried to make the world believe that she was out for peace and also to arouse pro-Soviet opinion among the Japanese people at large by giving out that she had made a proposal for a non-aggression pact with Japan.

Reasons for Opposition

The Japanese Government voiced opposition to the proposal. The reasons were: (1) that, both Japan and the Soviet being signatories to the Kellogg anti-war pact, there was no need for their signing a non-aggression pact; (2) that a non-aggression agreement between the two countries, even if it were concluded, would not prove so effective as to frustrate the Soviet project of making Red inroads into Japan and Manchukuo; and (3) that the Soviet proposal could hardly be accepted so long as the Soviet Government refused to act in accordance with the 1925 Convention embodying the basic principles of Soviet-Japanese relations and continued to break faith with Japan on fishery and other issues. In 1933 the Government sent an official note to the Soviet Government to the effect that it was unable to see its way clear to comply with the latter's proposal.

Duffy in the Baltimore Sun

Dramatizing the American abrogation of the Japanese Commercial Treaty.

This automatically put an end to the non-aggression pact question—at least for some time. The Soviet Government was not slow, however, to take every opportunity that offered subsequently to urge the Japanese Government to reconsider the matter. A certain section of people in this country, it must be admitted, held that there was room for giving further consideration to the Soviet proposal. In the Imperial Diet, for example, this question was brought forth for consideration more than once in both Houses—from the 66th to the 70th session. But that did not alter the Government's attitude. The most explicit announcement on the non-aggression pact issue was made by Mr. Koki Hirota, the then Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the 67th session of the Diet. In the course of his speech Mr. Hirota pointed out that it was necessary for a Soviet-Japanese non-aggression pact to be preceded by a settlement of all pending issues, such as the negotiations for purchase of the North Manchuria Railway, the delimitation issue, the fishery question and the North Saghalien rights and interests issue. The Foreign Minister maintained that, unless these pending problems were resolved, such a thing as a Soviet-Japanese non-aggression pact, even if it were signed, would prove no better than a dead letter.

Became a Memory

This policy was adopted by the succeeding foreign ministers — Mr. Arita and Mr. Satoh. Meanwhile, an anti-Comintern accord came into being between Germany and Japan and the current Sino-Japanese hostilities broke out. Then in November, 1938, Prince Konoye, the then Premier, issued a statement regarding the grim determination of the Government to stave off infiltration of Communism into East Asia. A non-aggression agreement between Japan and the Soviet Union thus came to be regarded as but a memory. No opinion was, in fact, expressed on this question at the 74th session of the Diet held in the spring of this year.

At the 17th meeting of the Communists of the Soviet Union held in March this year, Stalin emphasized the threefold purpose of the Soviet foreign policy; namely, (1) promotion of friendship and trade relations with other countries, (2) exercise of caution against the danger of being drawn into a general imperialistic war, and (3) strengthening combination with the working classes of other countries. Foreign Commissar Molotov enunciated this foreign policy in detail and expressed his Government's intention of signing a non-aggression pact with every country contiguous to the Soviet Union. When one comes to think of it, in all probability he had at the back of his mind a plan for such an agreement with Germany. And there is reason to believe that the Soviet is still desirous to conclude a similar treaty with Japan so as to remove what she regards as a menace to her Far Eastern borders.

The question is whether Japan can afford to think approvingly of the proposed agreement with the Soviet or not. The proposed pact, if concluded, may enable Japan, on the face of it, to deal a great blow to the Chiang regime and to adjust relations with the Soviet. But it is highly doubtful whether Japan can expect very much from such a pact. This feeling of doubt is all the greater because the Soviet-Mongolian forces have recently crossed the border illegally three times.

Will Soviet-Japanese relations improve in the event of a non-aggression pact being concluded between the

two countries? The Red Army in the Far East has been reinforced more and more since the Changkufeng incident, and the Soviet Government has been and still is bringing considerable pressure to bear on Japan on the fishery issue, to say nothing of the North Saghalien concessions question. Is it likely that Soviet Russia will veer round and make a gesture of friendship on all these questions? It must not be forgotten that large-scale fighting is going on on the Mongolia-Manchukuo border. (The fighting ended with the signing of a truce on Sept. 16.—Ed.) In 1931, the Soviet Union was most probably willing to make a concession to a Japanese demand, for she had a feeling of uncertainty on the western borders. The position is vastly different today. The non-aggression pact with Germany has given the Soviet a feeling of safety in Eastern Europe.

Can Soviet be Trusted ?

Granting that the Soviet Union is inclined to seek adjustment of relations with Japan, will she dare to throw overboard her cherished policy of communizing China where Japan is now carrying out a tremendous task? It is as likely as not that the Soviet Union will insist that thought penetration is something outside the provisions of a non-aggression agreement.

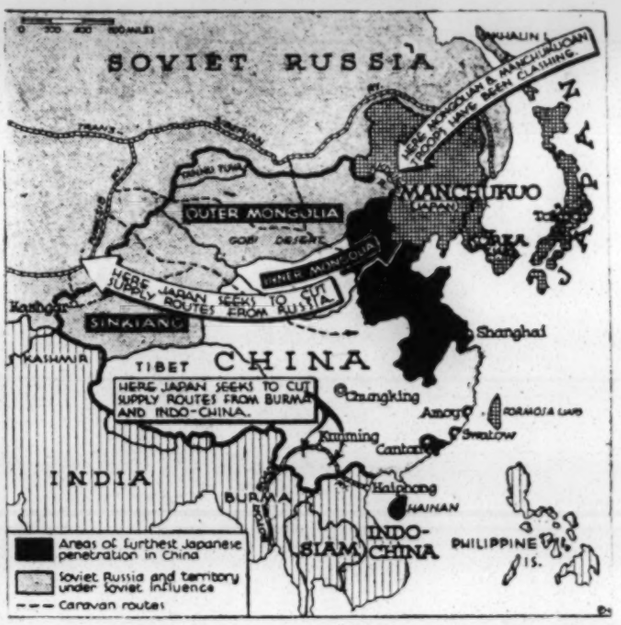
Some people are inclined to think that for disposal of the China Affair, it is necessary for Japan to reduce her military defenses in the north. Japan's military defenses are so complete that the Soviet forces cannot cross with impunity the Mongolia-Manchukuo border, let alone the Manchukuo-Soviet border. In this direction the defense authorities of Japan have been and still are putting forth strenuous efforts. It may be safely asserted, in the circumstances, that those who are thinking of resorting to a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union for the purpose of preventing border troubles reveal not only their ignorance of the tricks of Bolsheviks, but also their indifference to such an important matter as national defense.

Scrap of Paper

As already stated, the Soviet Union did not scruple to treat the 1925 Convention embodying the basic rules of Soviet-Japanese relations as a mere scrap of paper. Not one of the duties stipulated in the Convention has been performed by the Soviet in a manner satisfactory to this country. It is absurd, therefore, to think that Soviet Russia will act up to the provisions of a non-aggression treaty in the event of her entering into one with Japan.

Reference has already been made to the policy of the Comintern enunciated by Stalin in his speech at the 17th meeting of the Communist Party; namely, (1) promotion of friendly relations with other countries and (2) establishment of a closer connection with the proletariat of other countries. These two strokes of policy are inconsistent with each other. It is patent that the Soviet Union, while ostensibly desirous of other countries' friendship, is out to make greater efforts for the work of communizing other countries. It is the same as if the Soviets were announcing that they conclude a non-aggression pact with Japan but would endeavor all the more to make Japan, China and Manchukuo turn Red. All this goes to show that Japan has good reason to object to the idea of a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union.

Points of Conflict



New York Times

India Said Dragged Into War Without Her Consent

Charging the British Government with having deliberately ignored the opinion of India and with having declared India a belligerent in the European war without her consent, the Executive Committee of the Indian National Congress in a declaration isued last week stated that India's participation in the war is a matter which can only be decided by the Indian peoples, who will not allow their country's resources to be used for imperialist aims.

Noting that the governments of Britain have France have asserted that they are struggling for freedom and democracy, the declaration says that if this is really the case, then Britain should put an end to her imperialistic policy and establish an unreserved democracy in India. The declaration advanced demands for self-determination, a constituent assembly, and India's right to guide her own policy.

Yunnan Province Advances

(Continued from Page 165)

Student graduates from these schools will be encouraged to enter higher institutions in the provincial capital while scholarships will be given to those who make excellent academic records.

To carry out efficient and direct frontier administration, the Yunnan provincial government will appoint an official to the districts of Tengyueh and Lung-ling on the western border near Burma for handling all problems in the whole tribal territory. Able tribal chieftains will be employed to run local affairs so as to give them an opportunity for public service. To encourage free migration, a semi-official concern for land reclamation in the frontier will be organized and the communication lines will be greatly improved.

Anti-Malaria Campaign

One of the worse enemies of Yunnan and its natives is the local disease which is known as "changchi" or malignant malaria. This disease takes a heavy toll of human life every year. For the first time a big anti-malaria campaign is in progress to combat this disease. A formal request to the American Government for medical aid in the anti-malaria work in Yunnan was made by Dr. H. H. Kung, president of the Executive Yuan, in a telegram sent through the Chinese Embassy in Washington on August 7. The request was made on behalf of the Chinese Government after the receipt of official information of the deep concern expressed by the American authorities over the prevalence of malignant malaria in that part of China and of the readiness of the American Government to help combat the disease. Dr. Kung has asked for both experts and materials to be sent out to assist China in her five-year anti-malaria program in the province.

Dr. M. C. Balfour, resident representative of the Rockefeller Foundation in China, displayed keen interest in the malarial work during his recent visit to southwest China and has recommended that the Foundation make a study of the disease in that region.

Five-Year Campaign

The prevalence of the disease has hampered the Government's development program. The National Health Administration has launched a $1,400,000 five-year anti-malaria campaign and a $150,000 three-year research program. Following a preliminary survey made by a delegation headed by Dr. Y. T. Yao, one of the leading malarialogists in China, a special anti-malaria committee was inaugurated by the administration at Kunming on August 1.

On the Burma highway and the new railway under construction, the Administration has stationed two anti-malaria units, while two highway health stations have also been established. The Ministry of Communications and the Southwest Transportation Company maintain medical staffs to look after the health of their employees. When this disease is put under control, the development of "South of Clouds" will be greatly facilitated and expedited.

Chungking, September 7, 1939

Nippon Drive Extended to Hunan; Chinese Troops Said in Full Flight

NIPPON TROOPS APPROACH WITHIN 40 KILOMETERS OF CHANGSHA

On Wednesday of this week, according to Japanese military dispatches, Japanese troops driving south along the Canton-Hankow Railway in northeastern Hunan were within 40 kilometers of Changsha, provincial capital of Hunan. Dispatches from Chungking the same day admitted that Chinese forces had abandoned their positions on the south bank of the Sintsiang River following the landing of Japanese troops on the east shore of Tungting Lake in the Chinese rear.

Changsha was practically razed to the ground by a five-day fire started Nov. 20, 1938 by panicky Chinese police and military officials who believed Japanese capture of the city to be imminent following the Japanese occupation of Hankow last October. This outstanding episode in the "scorched earth" campaign, in which 2,000 or more persons perished, aroused considerable indignation.

JAPAN'S newest military push in China, which got under way a little more than two weeks ago on the Kiangsi and Hupeh fronts, extended into Hunan province on Sept. 23 when Japanese army and navy forces, assisted by large squadrons of aircraft, opened an assault upon Chinese troops in the Ninth War Zone, in the northeastern part of the province. A *Domei* report from Hankow said that the Japanese were engaging 60 Chinese divisions.

By the beginning of this week, according to Japanese field dispatches, the entire body of Chinese troops had been outflanked as a result of Japanese thrusts across Tungting Lake and the 60 divisions, commanded by Gen. Kuan Lin-cheng, were said to be facing the worst military debacle since the collapse of the "Hindenburg Line" between Shanghai and Nanking in 1937.

Retreat in Confusion

It was claimed large bodies of Chinese troops were in full flight, falling back in confusion toward Changsha, the Hunanese capital, while Nippon planes subjected them to ceaseless bombing and machine-gun attacks. Destruction of highways in order to prevent a Japanese advance, one *Domei* dispatch said, had proved a fatal boomerang for 30,000 Chinese troops retreating along the Siushui-Pingkiang-Changsha, the Tungcheng-Pinkiang and the Yochow-Changsha highways, since this had slowed down the retreat.

Japanese also claim to have cut the Canton-Hankow Railway north of Changsha at a point two kilometers south of the Ku River and thus to have blocked the main avenue of retreat of the Chinese forces.

Chinese dispatches describing the military operations In northeastern Hunan, released through *Kuo Min*, claimed that Japanese attempts to advance had been repulsed at all points. More than this, it was stated on Sept. 25 that Chinese troops launched a counter-offensive last Saturday night and succeeded in smashing through the Japanese lines near Yingtien, on the southern bank of Tungting Lake and at the mouth of the Siang River. Japanese who had crossed the Sintsiang River and attacked Chinese positions at Sintsiang and Holinkai were completely annihilated, it was claimed, Japanese casualties in that one battle numbering 2,000.

Chinese reports said that the Japanese offensive was being supported by more than 30 gunboats and 200 motor-boats operating on Tungting Lake and in the rivers flowing into it.

On Sept. 23, the Chinese claimed to have recaptured Kaoan on the Kiangsi-Hunan inter-provincial highway 40 miles southwest of Nanchang, Kiangsi provincial capital, on which they were said to be advancing. A day later, on Sept. 24, Japanese sources contradicted this claim by stating that their troops, based upon Kaoan, had launched a movement westward against Chinese troops in the mountains on the Hunan-Kiangsi border. They flatly denied that the Chinese had retaken Kaoan.

While the new Japanese drive in Hupeh, with Shasi and Ichang as the objectives, seemed to have slowed down after the initial thrusts some two weeks ago, a *Kuo Min* report from Loyang said that Chinese troops in southeastern Shansi had intensified their attacks on the Japanese positions at Changchih, Changtze and Hukwan.

General Toshizo Nishio left Tokyo on Tuesday of this week to take over the newly-created post of commander-in-chief of the Japanese Expeditionary Forces to China.

Return of the Guerrilla Fighter

Woodcut by Chang Hui

Wang's Plans Imperilled by Rival Puppet Ambitions

DESPITE much drum-beating by the Japanese and overwhelming protestation of support on the part of a host of puppets, Wang Ching-wei's "peace" movement appears to be in danger of fizzling out. The latest reaction from Peiping to Wang's government-forming effort is, to say the least, upsetting. If the Peiping puppets, evidently having ambitions of their own, meant exactly what they say in a statement issued last Sunday, in which they virtually told Wang that he is not needed in any new organization, then the best Wang can hope for will be a regional chieftainship, carrying out the biddings of the Japanese in Central China. The prospect of his becoming the No. 1 puppet of the Japanese in China has apparently considerably dimmed because of Peiping's opposition.

Wang Ching-wei, in spite of his four decades of experience in politics, is evidently no match for his rival in Peiping, Wang Keh-min. Judging from the Peiping statement, it seems that politics with all its intricacies is being played between the two Wangs with a subtlety which may even be confounding to their Japanese overlords. During his recent visit in Nanking, Wang Keh-min apparently rendered all sorts of lip service to Wang Ching-wei and protested his loyalty and support in abundance. But as soon as he returned to his lair in the North, he turned a complete *volte face*, unmasking his real intention through the intrumentality of a statement issued in the name of his underlings.

May Wreck Wang's Plan

Long notorious as an astute actor on the Chinese political stage, Wang Keh-min may eventually wreck the career of Wang Ching-wei even as a puppet. Whatever counter-moves the latter may plan, it seems certain that Wang Keh-min will spare no effort or intrigue to resist the penetration of his influence to North China. Wang Keh-min's recalcitrancy, it may be noted, has been responsible for the failure of many an attempt in the past on the part of Wang Ching-wei to meddle in the affairs of Peiping. The next few months, perhaps, will witness an interesting battle between the two Wangs on the puppet stage, with both contending for the "honor" of chief puppet. Already in the first round, Wang Keh-min seems to have registered a winning score. This is evidenced in the report that inauguration of Wang Ching-wei's much-advertised central government, which was scheduled to take place on the auspicious date of October 10, is to be postponed to November 1. The delay can reasonably be ascribed to Peiping's opposition.

"Act of Ingratitude"

The statement issued in the name of the "Peiping Provisional Government" not only strikes a blow at Wang Ching-wei's plan for an all—China puppet regime, but also contains a jab at the Japanese, who are seen forcing the projected Wang regime upon the country. The Peiping puppets view this as "an act of ingratitude for all the past work of the Provisional Government."

Couched in subtle terms, with praise for Wang Ching-wei and apologies for themselves, the authors of the statement make no attempt to conceal their opposition to Wang's "Orthodox" Kuomintang and possible extension of its influence to the North. In part, the statement reads:

"We are impressed by Mr. Wang Ching-wei's statement for peace, because he paid tribute to the members of this government for what it has done in the past. What we have done does not deserve Mr. Wang's eulogy, and we are ashamed in this respect.

"If what we have done is of benefit to the general state of affairs and the livelihood of the people, we expect to proceed with our original intention and attain success.

"The country is beset with difficulties, while hardships to the masses prevail. Is it a time for people to talk of their party affiliations? If peace is secured, our desire is satisfied and there is no objection on that point."

With his plans receiving a serious setback from the rival gang in the North, Wang Ching-wei faced further condemnation from Chungking. In a message marking the close of its 4th session, the People's Political Council bitterly denounced Wang for "betrayal of his fatherland" and declared that all his utterances and actions since his flight from Chungking had run counter to the will of the Chinese nation.

The members of the Council urged that the Government publicly declare that all actions of "puppet regimes," whether internal or external, cannot be recognized by the Chinese nation. They also resolved not to recognize any documentary contracts signed by the "puppet regimes" with any foreign country. Among the more than 70 resolutions adopted at the session was a measure urging the Government to fix a date for the National People's Convention with a view to adopting the constitution and realizing constitutional rule. The Council also issued separate messages of encouragement to Chinese soldiers at the front and the Chinese people in Japanese-occupied areas.

Japan to Recognize

Apparently determined to give Wang Ching-wei a trial despite opposition from Peiping, the Tokyo *Asahi*, in an inspired story, declared that Japan will take the initiative in extending recognition to the new "Central Government of China" upon its establishment. A full-time Japanese ambassador in the person of a high army officer, the paper stated, will be appointed in order to restore Sino-Japanese relations to normalcy.

Meanwhile, Wang seems to be bending his efforts to the organization of his puppet government According to current report, as a result of the discussions held in Nanking last week the "Big Three" of China's pro-Japanese politicans, Wang Ching-wei, Wang Keh-min and Liang Hung-chih, have agreed on a tentative line-up of the "New Central Government," which will be similar in structure to the National Government at Chungking with a chairman, five Yuan and a number of commissions, including a Military Affairs Commission.

Puppet Personnel

The chosen personnel is stated to be as follows:

Nehru Meets Chiang Kai-shek

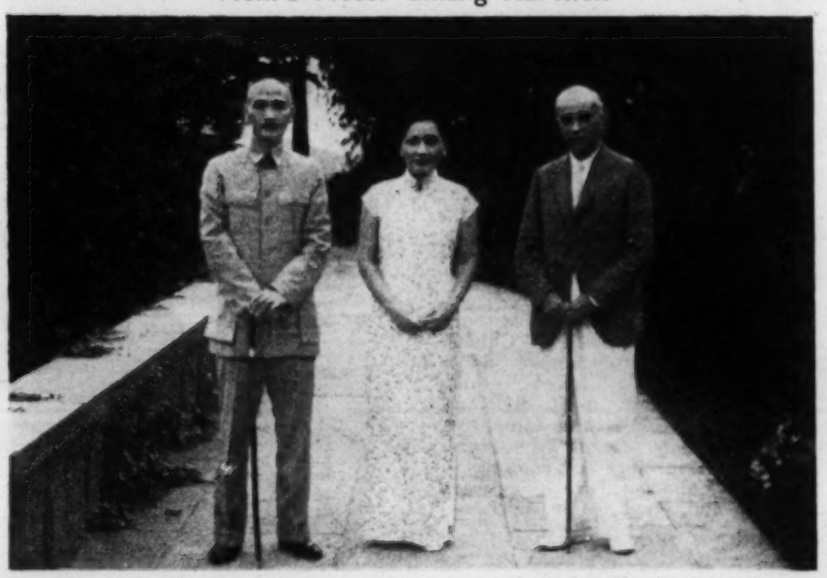


Photo by Thomas Kwang

When visiting Chungking recently, Jawaharlal Nehru, Indian Nationalist leader, met General Chiang Kai-shek. He is pictured here with the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang in the grounds of the Chiang residence.

Executive Yuan: Chairman Cheng Chung-fu, formerly chief of the foreign affairs department of the Peiping Political Council; vice-chairman, Chen Chun, who is now Minister of Interior in the "Reformed Government."

Legislative Yuan: Chairman Wen Tsung-yao, who is holding the similar post in the "Reformed Government" in Nanking.

Judicial Yuan: Chairman Chu Sen, of the "Provisional Government" in Peiping.

Examination Yuan: Chairman Chou Fu-hai, one of the closest Wang Ching-wei followers and until his defection from Chungking director of Publicity of the Central Kuomintang Headquarters.

Control Yuan: Chairman Liang Hung-chih, who is the chairman of the Executive Yuan and therefore the head of the "Reformed Government."

Minister of Finance: Chow Tso-min, a prominent Chinese banker. It is said that Chow is still reluctant to assume the post.

Minister of Communication: Ku Meng-yu, another Wang Ching-wei follower who was for a time minister of railways in the National Government.

Minister of Railways: Chen Kung-po, also a Wang follower who was minister of industry in the National Government.

Minister of Foreign Affairs: Kao Chung-wu, another Wang Ching-wei follower who was until the war chief of the Asiatic affairs department of the foreign ministry of the National Government.

Minister of Interior: Chen Chun, who is to become concurrently vice-chairman of the Executive Yuan.

No Military Department

It is reported that the new "government" will not have a Ministry of War or a Ministry of Navy for the time being. The military affairs will be handled by a special commission of which several prominent North China militarists will be asked to become members. Among the candidates for the commission are said to be Marshal Wu Pei-fu, who has up to date refused to accept Japanese appointments, and General Chin Yung-peng, a former war minister in the Peking Government.

Jen Yuan-tao, present Minister of Pacification of the "Reformed Government," it is said, will be relieved of his rank as a cabinet minister and appointed Garrison Commander of Nanking.

Exactly what positions Wang Ching-wei and Wang Keh-min are to assume has not been indicated. It is believed, however, that Wang Ching-wei, in addition to the post of "Chairman," will also hold several other important posts such as Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the "Legitimate" Kuomintang and of the Central Political Council. Wang Keh-min is reported to have been offered the chairmanship of the "Executive Yuan" but declined, preferring to remain as the head of a semi-autonomous regime in North China.

Assassination Rumor

In connection with Wang Ching-wei's present activities, it may be noted in passing that a rumor gained wide circulation in Shanghai last Sunday that he had been assassinated. The Japanese *Domei* news agency described the rumor as "ridiculous," but alleged that five Chinese communists headed by one Tsai Ta-chou had arrived in Shanghai with the avowed purpose of "attempting to poison Wang." According to Japanese reports, the would-be assassin group will adopt a different technique from that used in the past for political assassinations. These men, it was alleged, will either attempt to murder Wang by putting poison in foodstuffs supplied to his household from grocery shops, or by setting fire to houses near his residence and killing him during the ensuing panic.

Domei last week flooded the foreign press of Shanghai with voluminous reports on the meeting of Wang Ching-wei, Wang Keh-min and Liang Hung-chih in Nanking and the assurances of support allegedly given by the latter two to Wang Ching-wei. It was claimed that complete agreement had been reached on, and all concrete preparations made for, the establishment of a new central administration of China. In their talks, Wang Ching-wei was said to have stressed his determination to continue his "peace" movement, while Wang Keh-min and Liang Hung-chih, pledging their support for the movement, were stated to have promised fullest cooperation in the organization of a new central regime with Wang Ching-wei as the central figure. Besides exchanging views on various other matters, they also discussed the organization of a Central Political Council which should be the "kernel of the forthcoming Central Government."

Following the conclusion of the conversations, Wang Ching-wei issued a statement in which he condemned the National Government for its policy of prolonged resistance and lauded Wang Keh-min and Liang Hung-chih for braving personal dangers and public criticism to "come out in the midst of trouble and to organise administrative organs to deal with Japan in a peaceful way, thereby affording the deserted and homeless people a breathing space." Wang emphasized that the peace movement is vital in the national interest and of immediate urgency.

Citing the slogan adopted at his "Sixth Kuomintang Congress"—"Peace, Anti-Communism and National Reconstruction." Wang said that he sincerely called upon "all patriots, irrespective of party affiliation, to share the responsibility of readjusting the present situation." He added that as a result of his exchange of views with Wang Keh-min and Liang Hung-chih, he had obtained their "full understanding and warm support" with regard to concrete measures for adjusting the present situation.

Yamada Praises Wang

The dramatic effort of the trio-puppets in Nanking apparently won the full approval of their master and overseer, Gen. Otozo Yamada, Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Army in Central China. In order to enliven their talks, Gen. Yamada gave a big reception to the three puppet figures, paying the major share of his compliments to Wang Ching-wei. Gen. Yamada praised Wang for his courage in braving personal risks to "embark on the great campaign of anti-communism, peace and national salvation." Thanks to the cooperation of the Peiping and Nanking regimes, Yamada said, Wang was enabled to speed up his plans for the establishment of a new central administration. He promised to give Wang "as much support as possible" in his peace movement.

Replying, Wang Ching-wei echoed the sentiments of the Japanese general regarding the necessity for peace and suppression of communism. After expressing his gratitude for the assurance given by Gen. N. Abe, Japanese premier, that he would abide by the statement made by his predecessor, Prince F. Konoye, Wang said, "I earnestly hope that the Japanese forces will cooperate with us as vigorously as ever in the future."

In a statement issued early this week, the Nanking "Reformed Government" pledged full support to Wang Ching-wei. The Nanking puppets said that they will work and cooperate with Wang to complete the great task of reconstructing China. With Wang having offered his services, the statement said, the restoration of enduring peace between China and Japan will not be difficult to realize.

First meeting of the Central Political Council now being formed by Wang Ching-wei in preparation for the establishment of a new central government is expected to take place in the latter part of October, "with more than 20 members participating," according to officials of the Nanking regime. For the selection of members of the Council, Wang is said to be now consulting Nanking, Peiping and other partisan groups.

The Joint Commission of the Nanking and Peiping regimes which

New Soviet Envoy

Photo by Thomas Kwang

Alexander Semionovitch Panaouchkine, newly-appointed Soviet ambassador to China, recently presented his credentials at Chungking. He succeeded M. Luganets-Orelsky, who reportedly met his death in an automobile accident while on home leave in Russia.

recently held its 6th session in Nanking has also issued a statement, announcing full cooperation with Wang Ching-wei in his efforts to set up a new central administration. Wang Keh-min who presided at the meeting read a resolution offering support to Wang Ching-wei. Many Japanese officers, including Gen. Seiichi Kita and Vice-Admiral Shizue Tsuda were also present and spoke briefly, congratulating the Joint Commission on its work.

Wang's Tokyo Visit

Confirmation of Wang Ching-wei's visit to Tokyo early last June was provided in an article published by the *Asahi Shimbun*, giving details of his conversations with Prince Konoye. The ex-Japanese premier revealed that Wang called on him on June 8 at his villa in the suburb of Tokyo and they talked for three and a half hours on peace in China and the New order in East Asia. As Wang does not speak Japanese well enough to discuss politics and Konoye is not acquainted with spoken Chinese, the *Asahi Shimbun* article stated, the two had to "converse" through the medium of written Chinese. Konoye declined to divulge the contents of their conversations, but admitted that "of course, we talked about peace." Wang and Konoye first met in Paris at the Peace Conference some 20 years ago and their meeting in Tokyo last June was the second, according to Konoye.

According to an exclusive report published in the *Shanghai Times*, seventeen organizations in Shanghai, representing the Chinese People's Peace Promotion League, the peace movement initiated by Wang Ching-wei, appealed both to Washington and London yesterday, urging that the United States and British Governments adhere to the wishes of the majority of the Chinese and help to restore peace in the Far East. Cablegrams were sent to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, and Senator Key Pittman, Democrat of Nevada, informing them of the resolutions of the combined committees for the immediate restoration of peace in China and the cessation of any further hostilities which are, they outlined, devastating the land, causing suffering, misery and death.

Another telegram was dispatched to General Chiang Kai-shek at Chungking, urging him to resign all responsibility if he did not desire to make peace at this time. A further telegram was sent to Wang Ching-wei approving his peace proposal and urging him to "work to his full limit" to cause a cessation in further military operations.

Blue Shirts Desert

Highly dissatisfied with the "selfish and tyrannical practices of the Chiang Kai-shek regime," *Domei* reported from Peiping that some 49 alleged members of the Blue Shirts, including one Kiang Cheng-shun, had deserted the organization and arrived at Peiping to join the anti-nationalist movement.

A minor reshuffle in the personnel of the Nanking regime occurred last week, when Yen Chia-chih was appointed minister of finance and Liang Hung-chih concurrently president of the Hua Hsing Bank. The two posts were previously held by Chen Chin-tao, who died several months ago allegedly of poison during a Japanese banquet in Nanking.

Of consderable military and political significance were the appointment of Gen. Chiang Kai-shek to the concurrent post of Chairman of the Szechwan Provincial Government and the planned division of that province into three separate provinces. Gen. Chiang's appointment followed the resignation of Gen. Wang Tsan-hsu, who had offered to go to the front to fight against the Japanese. Gen. Ho Kuo-kuang, Mayor of Chungking, was appointed concurrently secretary-general of the new Szechwan administration. In view of Gen. Chiang's manifold duties, which are likely to prevent him from taking an active part in its administration, it is generally believed that Gen. Ho will be the *de facto* chairman of the province.

Reason for Division

The decision to divide Szechwan into three separate provinces was made at the recent 4th Session of the People's Political Council in order to insure more efficient administration.

The first division will comprise the entire western part of Szechwan, including the areas of the twelfth administrative region along the Pei River and the fourteenth administrative region along the Kia Ling River with Chengtu as capital, an official announcement said.

The second division is to comprise the entire eastern part, including the areas of the 15th administrative region along the Pa River, and the eleventh administrative region along Kia Ling River with Chungking as capital.

The third division includes the entire southern part with Suifu as capital. In addition, the 16 special administrative regions into which Szechwan was originally divided will gradually be abolished as circumstances warrant, the official announcement said.

Gen. Chiang's appointment was received with great satisfaction in all quarters in Chengtu, capital of Szechwan. Gen. Teng Hsi-hou, Pacification Commissioner for Szechwan and Sikong, expressed the hope that under Gen. Chiang's chairmanship reconstruction of the province will be speeded up. Gen. Teng also praised Gen. Ho Kuo-kuang as new secretary-general of the provincial government, declaring that he has always been noted for sound judgment, frankness and justness in the discharge of his duties. Gen. Teng pledged his services to the reorganized government.

New Honan Chairman

The Honan Provincial Government headed by Gen. Cheng Chien was also reorganized last week. Gen. Wei Li-huang, commander of the 14th Army, was appointed new chairman of that province. Since the start of the present hostilities, Gen. Wei has taken an active part in operations against the Japanese, first in Shansi, then along the Peiping-Hankow Railway and now on the Lunghai front. His new appointment is regarded as the government's recognition of his distinguished services.

An interesting but unconfirmed report published in the *Sin Min Pao* in Chungking stated that Miss Lan Pin, well-known movie actress, is to be married to Gen. Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese communist leader. Miss Lan Pin is now at Yenan, Shensi.

A meeting of former Manchurian commanders was recently held at Chungking, those present including Gen. Ma Chan-san and Gen. Li Tu. Gen. Ma announced that he was returning to the front in Suiyuan immediately. He added, "I shall not return to Chungking until we recapture Manchuria."

State Burial of Liu Hsiang

The state burial of Gen. Liu Hsiang, former chairman of Szechwan, was held at Chengtu on Sept. 19. Prior to his death in 1938, Gen. Liu participated in the defence of Nanking against the Japanese.

Interviewed by F. Tillman Durdin, the Chungking correspondent of the *New York Times*, concerning the European war, Dr. Chu Chia-hua, secretary-general of the Standing Committee of the C. E. C., said that while China regrets the outbreak of hostilities in Europe, she remains determined to continue resistance against Japanese aggression despite the European war.

The anti-Chinese movement in Siam is reported to be still growing. Ninety per cent of Chinese schools there, it is said, have been closed.

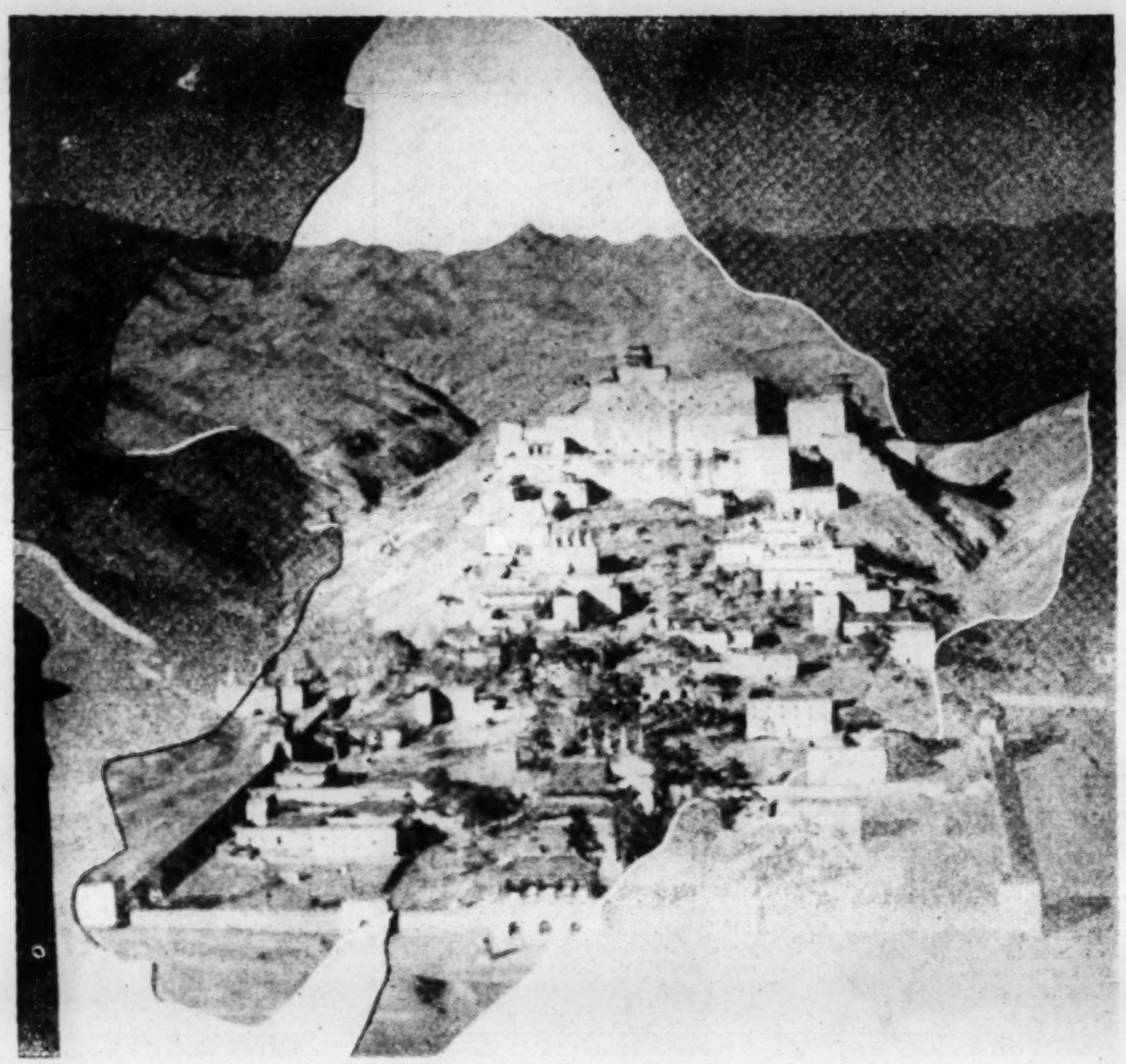
China Said Seeking Huge American Loan

Quoting informed financial quarters, a *United Press* report from Chungking on Sept. 22 stated that China may seek to negotiate a loan of U.S.$350,000,000 from the United States in the near future. Chinese Government circles, it was stated, indicated that China would merely "suggest" the possibility of such a loan and leave it to the American Export-Import Bank to take the initiative.

The Japanese press reported last week, according to a *Transocean* message from Tokyo, that the Chungking Government had received an Anglo-French offer of a loan of £25,000,000 to be used for the industrial development of Yunnan province. Condition of the credit, the Japanese papers said, would be that China remain neutral in the European conflict and deliver to England and France all raw materials produced in southwestern China.

Simmons to Unveil Taiping Memorial

The Soldiers' Memorial, erected in memory of British servicemen who lost their lives in the Taiping Rebellion (1862-1865), will be unveiled at Hungjao Cemetery on Tuesday, Oct. 3, at 11.30 a.m. by Major-General F. Keith Simmons, officer commanding British forces in China. Remains of the dead men were removed to Hungjao Cemetery from the old British Soldiers' Cemetery in Nantao at the end of last year, for the reason that the Nantao cemetery had fallen into a "deplorable condition" as a result of the Japanese occupation and could not be cared for. The S.M.C. undertook to erect the memorial which is to be unveiled next Tuesday.



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WAR BREVITIES

Premier Armand Calinescu of Rumania was shot and killed by fascist "Iron Guard" terrorists in Bucharest on Sept. 21. The assassination was followed by a widespread government terror against members and suspected members of the "Iron Guard" organization and it was reported that between 300 and 400 persons had been executed in various parts of the country, in addition to the actual slayers of the Premier. General George Argeseanu, a vigorous opponent of the "Iron Guards," has succeeded to the premiership.

*

General Werner Von Fritsch, former Chief-of-Staff of the German Army, was killed in action on the Warsaw front on Sept. 22 while in command of the 12th Army Corps, according to an announcement from Adolf Hitler's headquarters. British and French propagandists have suggested that the General was shot in the back, his death being deliberately encompassed by Hitler's order because of his opposition to the Nazi regime. The deceased general, however, was given an impressive state funeral and cited honorably in army dispatches.

Honan Puppets Close U.S. Mission School

The puppet provincial government of Honan has ordered the closure of the American-owned Catholic Mission girls' school at Kaifeng, according to a *United Press* dispatch from Peiping, quoting Japanese reports. The Chinese students, the dispatch said further, were ordered to enter a middle school in Peiping.

U.S. Protests Another Mission Bomb Attack

Representations were made by the American Embassy to the Japanese Embassy in Peiping over the bombing of the American Baptist Mission at Luichow, Kwangtung, *United Press* reported Sept. 23. The mission was bombed Sept. 4 by Japanese planes, which caused damage estimated at U.S.$700 but no casualties. It was said that the Japanese planes flew low over the mission buildings, which had American flags flying in plain view of the pilots.

Japan Considers Taxing Exports to Curb Prices

Applying a further brake to the steadily rising prices of commodities, the Japanese Government may soon impose an export tax so as to make the domestic supply of goods more plentiful, *Domei* reported Sept. 24. This step would be taken under the powers confered upon the Government by Article 9 of the National Mobilization Act, which authorizes official control of foreign trade as well as the imposition of specific import and export dues in case of necessity, the report said.

1,000 American Trucks for China

AMERICAN HIGHWAY EXPERTS IN CHUNGKING

Messrs. M. E. Sheahan, Andrew B. Bassi and Carol W. Van Patter, American highway experts invited to China by the Ministry of Communications, arrived in Chungking recently and were received by Gen. Chiang Kai-shek on Sept. 20. Bearing a message of greeting from Mr. Henry Morgenthau, U. S. Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Sheahan informed Gen. Chiang that the United States Government would be glad to render all technical assistance to the Chinese Government for the improvement of China's highway transportation system.

A thousand American trucks, first earnest of American aid to China, will shortly go into service on the highways of this country. Rolling over the roads to the coast, these trucks will convey each month thousands of tons of wood oil to waiting ships to be carried away to the voracious American market. Returning to China, they will bear gasoline, machinery, medical supplies and other American products purchased with the U.S.$25,000,000 credit of last December.

Directing the entire network of economic activity that stems from the American credit is the Fooshing Trading Corporation, a private Chinese corporation, capitalized at $10,000,000. It exports wood oil to cover the credit, imports the materials purchased by the credit, and it has set up an independent transportation system in order to discharge its functions to full efficiency.

The Fooshing Corporation through its American agent, the Universal Trading Corporation of New York, makes and has made the bulk of Chinese purchases from last year's American credit. To cover the credit, the corporation has undertaken to supply the American market with wood oil in increasing quantities for five successive years.

600 Mechanics Hired

One thousand trucks of the finest American manufacture are at the command of the corporation, ready for transportation service at the ports of Rangoon and Haiphong. In order to ensure successful operation of the service, the corporation has engaged over 600 mechanics and drivers from Singapore and Shanghai. They have patriotically offered their services for the development of Free China and will give the corporation a trained, reliable staff. Two American transportation experts are also employed to give technical assistance to the mechanical staff.

The corporation's plans are fully developed. About one hundred trucks are already in operation in Kwangsi, carrying oil from Kwangsi centers to the French Indo-China railhead. Within the month, the other 900 trucks will swing into service, carrying oil from the interior collecting centers to Kweiyang, where the service will split into two routes — to Kunming, and the other to Chengnankwan. The company has erected repair shops, service stations, storehouses and dormitories along the routes. It is estimated that over 4,000 tons of cargo can be carried to port or railhead each month, thereby relieving by an almost equal amount the heavy burden that the 2,000 trucks of the Southwestern Transportation Company have up to now been carrying.

Three American highway engineers, invited by the Ministry of Communications, will soon arrive in Chungking to make a thorough study of China's road conditions. They are Messrs. M. E. Sheahan, A. B. Bassi and C. W. Van Patter.

They will set out to tour several networks in the southwestern and northwestern provinces, and make recommendations for improvement. One of the engineers will then return to the United States, while the other two will probably stay in China for a longer period to advise the Chinese Government on transportation problems.—*China Information Committee.*

Soviet to Release 8 Nippon Trawlers

Improved Soviet-Japanese relations, consequent upon the Nomonhan truce agreement, were reflected in a *Domei* report from Tokyo to the effect that eight Japanese motor fishing trawlers, now detained in Vladivostok, are to be released on Sept. 30, Oct. 10, and Oct. 20. Two Japanese vessels, a Tsuruga report said, had already been towed to Rashin in Korea from Vladivostok by a Japanese ferry boat .

M. Constantin Smetanin, newly-appointed Soviet Ambassador to Japan, the *Hochi Shimbun* reported last week, would leave Moscow on Oct. 10 for Japan, earlier than scheduled. This change inplans, the daily said, was being made to enable M. Smetanin to carry on negotiations with the Japanese Government for a readjustment of Soviet-Japanese relations parallel to the talks now under way in Moscow between Mr. Shigenori Togo, Japanese envoy, and V. M. Molotoff, Soviet Foreign Commissar.

Sino-Soviet Trade Said Improved Since Treaty

Since the conclusion of the Sino-Soviet commercial treaty in June, the Chinese have exported to Russia across Sinkiang enormous quantities of wood oil, goat skin, ox hide, and tea, according to reports from Chungking. There has been a similarly prosperous import of Soviet goods into China, Chinese circles said. The exact figures, however, are not yet available. The northwest Sinkiang highway is being constantly improved to facilitate transportation, it was stated.

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Outstanding Events in the Sino-Japanese War A DAY-TO-DAY SUMMARY

First installment of this day-to-day summary constituting a complete record of outstanding events in the Sino-Japanese war on all fronts appeared in the September 11th (1937) issue of the Review.

September 10

One hundred and thirty Japanese planes and three months' supply of gasoline reported to have been lost during the Tientsin floods recently.

Japan's most important task at present is to adjust administrative and economic control policies for the primary purpose of settling the China conflict, declared Premier Gen. N. Abe (yesterday).

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September 11

Thirty six Japanese bombers which attempted to raid Chungking were intercepted by Chinese pursuit craft on the Szechwan border. The raiders changed course and bombed Luchow, southern Szechwan town southwest of Chungking.

T. V. Soong, Chairman of the Bank of China, who recently visited Chungking to confer with the government leaders, returned to Hongkong. It was during Mr. Soong's visit in Chungking that the joint board for the control of the four government banks was created with Gen. Chiang Kai-shek as chairman.

Rumors persist in Tokyo that an agreement would be soon concluded between Japan and the Soviet Union to end their hostilities on the Manchukuo-Mongolian border. Tokyo official circles, however, denied the German report that Premier Gen. N. Abe had announced that Japan was revising her relations with the Soviet Union at the suggestion of Herr Jaochim von Ribbentrop, German Foreign Minister.

Gen. Yoshijiro Umezu, former Japanese Vice-Minister of War and former Commander of the Japanese North China Garrison, appointed new Ambassador to "Manchukuo," and Commander of the Kwantung Army, replacing Gen. Kenkichi Uyeda. Gen. Umezu's appointment, which is considered as a rebuff to the Kwantung Army, is believed designed to smooth out the Soviet-Japanese difficulties on the Manchukuo-Mongolian border.

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September 12

Gen. Toshizo Nishio, Superintendent of Military Education, appointed Supreme Commander of all Japanese Forces in China, and Lt.-Gen. Seisiro Itagaki, former War Minister, made chief of Gen. Nishio's staff. Gen. Nishio served on the China front in 1938 under Gen. Count Terauchi, being commander of operations on the northern sector of Tientsin-Pukow Railway, with Gen. Itagaki serving as his assistant.

Military observers in Chungking predict that the Japanese, seeking to take advantage of the European war, will soon launch a new, large-scale offensive in a desperate attempt to subjugate China. These observers believe that the appointments of Gens. Nishio and Itagaki to their new posts herald the start of new Japanese military and political programs in China.

An American mission of highway experts headed by M.E. Sheaham reported arriving at Chungking shortly to negotiate an agreement with the Chinese Government for an American loan of US$350,000,000.

The United States Government on Sept. 9 informed Japan that it was firmly determined not to tolerate any unilateral changes in the **status quo** in Shanghai, according to reliable information received at Shanghai. The American warning, which was communicated to the Japanese Ambassador, Kensuke Horinouchi, by State Secretary Cordell Hull, was made as the result of persistent rumors that Japan intended to take advantage of war in Europe to seize control of the foreign administered areas in Shanghai. The Six Regiment, U.S. Marines, reported to have been ordered to sail for Shanghai, but report unconfirmed.

Anti-British campaign again loose in North China; the last Britons who were forced to evacuate the Tsiaotso coal mines in Honan arrived at Peiping under escort.

The Anti-British move will continue but no more violence will be permitted, declared Japanese army spokesman at Peiping.

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September 13

More than 400 civilians killed and one-third of Luchow, terminus of the Yunnan-Szechwan highway, destroyed by a disastrous fire which raged after 27 Japanese planes had bombed the city on Sept. 11, according to a foreigner arriving at Chungking from the upriver city.

"It all depends on future developments," declared Japanese embassy spokesman in reply to the question whether there was any indication that Japan might take "self-defence measures" in Shanghai, to which she laid claim in the 9-Power Treaty. It was impossible to say now what would take place here in the future, the spokesman said, commenting on the statement by Secretary of State Cordell Hull that the United States would oppose any unilateral attempt to abrogate their rights and interests in China.

Chow Hung-ching, president of the puppet high court of the "Wuhan City Government," assassinated at Hankow.

A puppet army of 10,000 men, concentrated at Chuchen, Shantung, for inspection, mutinied on August 25 and joined the Chinese forces, according to report received at Chungking.

Chinese exports for the first six months of 1939 through China's "Back Door" via Yunnan and Indo-China were valued at $411,460,000, an increase of $88,860,000 over the figures for the same period in 1938, according to announcement by the Finance Ministry.

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September 14

Heralding major operations in western Hupeh, three full Japanese divisions said preparing to launch a vigorous offensive on Shasi and Ichang, assisted by naval and air squadrons. A large number of Japanese warships also concentrated in the Yochow sector.

Revision of the International Settlement defense plans requested by the Japanese naval authorities in Shanghai at a meeting of the Japanese, British, Italian, and American defense commanders. The Japanese made no specific demands for the revision of the defense plans, but it was surmised in foreign circles that the British defense sectors north of the Soochow Creek would be handed over to the Japanese.

Tension in the western district of Shanghai further increased, as Japanese

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Who's Who in China

Gen. Chu Shih-ming, Government official; born at Siangsiang, Hunan, Nov. 22, 1902; graduate of Tsinghua College at Peiping, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Norwich

朱世明字公亮

Gen. Chu Shih-ming

Military School and The Command and General Staff College at Port Leavenworth, U.S.A.; instructor at Whampoa Military Academy, Canton; Chief of Operations Section, 46th Nationalist Army during the Northern Punitive Expedition; Dean, Army Communications and Engineering School; Commander of Peace Preservation Corps of Chekiang Province; Chief of Department, General Staff Office; Military Attache, Chinese Embassy at Moscow; Chief of Department, Main Office, National Military Affairs Commission; now, Director, Department of Intelligence and Publicity, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; address: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Chungking.

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THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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Shanghai.

gendarmes and puppet police continued to appear in Jessfield and Yu Yuen Roads in increasing numbers and occupied a huge Chinese house on Avenue Haig on the boundary of the Settlement.

War Minister Gen. Ho Ying-chin declared that despite European war which has had some effect on Chinese supplies, all Chinese forces are ready for a general counter-offensive. Gen. Ho said that the Chinese have accumulated large reserve supplies and have means of manufacturing and obtaining war weapons.

Chungking Air Defence Headquarters claimed that several Japanese bombers were shot down by Chinese anti-aircraft fire on Sept. 9, when 27 Japanese airplanes raided Wanhsien. Three of the raiders were brought down near Wanhsin, while others fell further eastwrads.

*
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September 15

Wenhsien, in North Honan, claimed recaptured by the Chinese on Sept. 13. The Japanese said retreating in the direction of Sinyang.

Soviet-Japanese rapproachement impossible, declared Gen. Feng Yu-hsiang in speech at a reception given the new Soviet Ambassador, Alexandre Semeinovitch Panaouchkine in Chungking. Gen. Feng based his opinion on cables received from Sun Fo, special envoy of the Chinese government in Moscow.

September 16

Tokyo and Moscow officially announced that Japan and Soviet Russia had reached an agreement for the cessation of hostilities on the Manchukuo-Mongolian border. "Cease firing" sounded this morning by Japanese and Soviet buglers on the Nomonhan front in accordance with the truce agreement. Soviet-Japanese arbitration committee to be formed shortly to demarcate the border. Negotiations for settlement of the Soviet-Japanese border disputes reported initiated by Berlin.

Speculation rife in Chungking regarding the possibility of a Japanese-Soviet non-aggression pact. Such a pact, it was believed, might materialize following the truce of the Mongolian-Manchukuo border fighting. Future course of Chinese communists said worth close attention in the event of a Soviet-Japanese rapproachement.

Chinese air force active in Shansi, bombing Japanese troop concentrations and supply depots. Chungking said planning to rebuild Chinese air squadron so that it should possess 500 first line planes at all times.

The Shanghai Municipal Council entered into formal negotiations with the puppet Shanghai Municipal Government, as G. G. Phillips, Secretary of the S. M. C., called on "Mayor" Fu Siao-en at the Civic Center on Sept. 15 to seek a solution of the question of extra-Settlement roads, according to Japanese report.

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Men and Events

Consul and Mrs. E. T. Stanton of the U. S. Consulate-General at Shanghai are spending their vacation at Unzen, Japan.

*

Charles M. Schwab, multi-millionaire head of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation and outstanding among America's steel kings, died in New York on Sept. 19 at the age of 77.

*

Carl Laemmle, pioneer of the American motion-picture industry and for many years one of Hollywood's outstanding producers, died Sept. 24 at his home in Beverly Hills. He was 72 years old.

*

The U. S. Maritime Commission announced at Washington on Sept. 23 that contracts had been let, chiefly to the Bethlehem Steel Company, for the construction of 11 more ocean-going cargo vessels. Four of the ships will be built at the Bethlehem plant at Quincy, Massachusetts.

*

Dr. H. H. Kung, President of the Executive Yuan and concurrently Finance Minister, who celebrated his 60th birthday recently, announced that gifts by his friends would be used for the creation of a scholarship and for the purchase of winter clothing for Chinese front-line troops.

*

Prof. Sigmund Freud, known as the father of psychoanalysis and "the man who made the world sex conscious," died in London Sept. 23 at the age of 83. Born of poor Jewish patents in Freiberg, Moravia, he spent most of his life in Austria. When Hitler annexed Austria is 1938, Freud moved to England.

*

A Chinese, allegedly involved in looting scrap iron from a Japanese dump in Hongkew, was beaten to death by a Japanese employed by the proprietors of the dump. The Japanese, when arrested by the Municipal Police, claimed he had caught the Chinese man prowling about the scrap iron pile and instead of notifying the police had beaten the man over the head so severely that he died. The Japanese, a young man, has been turned over to the Japanese consular authorities.

*

John Francis Manning, 59, well-known American mining engineer, died recently at Kunming, according to report from that city on Sept. 20. Manning had resided in Kunming for several months where he was engaged in superintending the construction of a large radio station. Manning resided in Peiping for several years following his arrival in China in 1903. While serving in the intelligence branch of the U. S. Army in Siberia, Manning discovered imporant placer gold deposits near the Mongolian-Siberian border, south of Lake Baikal, which he was prevented from developing by the Soviet authorities, following the withdrawal of the American forces from Siberia.

Everett F. Drumright, Second Secretary at the U. S. Embassy at Chungking, was in Shanghai this week on his way to the United States on leave. Mr. Drumright is a native of Drumright, Oklahoma. Prior to going to Chungking he was stationed at Hankow, Peiping, Swatow and Shanghai.

*

Donald Day, correspondent for *The Chicago Tribune*, stationed for many years in Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Balkan countries, was expelled from Lithuania on Sept. 22 on the ground he had sent his paper "false reports." As the *Tribune* was not permitted to maintain a correspondent in the U.S.S.R., Mr. Day had covered Russian news from the border areas.

*

The new Roxy Theater on Bubbling Well Road, now under construction, which is expected to open in November, will exhibit the pictures of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, well-known Hollywood producers, according to announcement of the management last week. The new theater will have a seating capacity of 1,200. The Roxy occupies the premises of the old Embassy Theater, one of Shanghai's landmarks.

*

The Shanghai Anti-Tuberculosis Association will hold its first general meeting on Monday, October 2, 5 to 7 p.m. at the rooms of the American Women's Club, 57 Bubbling Well Road. More than 300 persons are expected to attend the meeting. The Association maintains a hospital at 37B Brenan Road, which contains 200 beds for refugees and other indigent persons. Mrs. Ki Chun is chairman of the committee having charge of the arrangements for the meeting on Oct. 2. She resides at Apt. 16, Haig Court, 400 Ave. Haig.

*

The Rev. I. V. Neprash, representative of the All-Russian Union of the Baptist Church, reported to the conference of the Baptist World Alliance at Atlanta, Georgia on July 26, that church work of his denomination persisted in Russia despite the fact that many workers had been done away with, some in the most cruel way. Rev. Neprash said that "practically all buildings belonging to the Baptist Church had been confiscated, services strictly forbidden and attendants severely punished."

*

Wirt Smalley Leonard, well-known American businessman and manufacturers representative in the Far East, died at the Shanghai Country Hospital on Tuesday, Sept. 19, of embolism. Mr. Leonard was 53 years of age and had resided in Shanghai for about twenty years. He was born in Interlaken, New York and was a graduate of Cook's Academy and Colgate University. He is survived by Mrs. Leonard, who is in Shanghai, and by a brother Asa Leonard and a sister Nelle Leonard, who reside in Ithaca, New York. Funeral service was held at the Kiaochow Road Chapel on Tuesday afternoon, Sept. 20, the Rev. Carleton Lacy officiating.

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The U. S. Minelayer Finch came to Shanghai last week to obtain pumps and other equipment for use in salvaging the USS Pigeon, which was blown ashore in Kiaochow Bay, opposite Tsingtao, by a typhoon about three weeks ago. The Pigeon's anchors failed to hold in the typhoon and the ship was driven ashore, head on, badly damaging the hull and engine room. The ship will be taken to drydock at Manila after it has been floated.

*

Dr. Erwin Reifler, professor at Chiaotung University, formerly located at Shanghai, but now in Hongkong, was married in Shanghai on Septemebr 20 to Miss Henrietta Brown, daughter of the Rev. and Mrs. M. Brown of Shanghai. The wedding was held at the Ohel Rachel Synagogue, the bride's father officiating. A reception was held at the Jewish school, which was attended by several hundred guests.

*

M. A. Konstantinoff, Consul in Shanghai for the U. S. S. R., departed on Saturday, Sept. 23 for Japan. He was accompanied by Chancellor of Consulate, the reason for the trip not being stated. The Secretary of the Consulate, Mr. Kolomitsev, will be in charge of the office here. The U. S. S. R. Consulate-General, which has been located in the French Concession since the outbreak of Sino-Japanese hostilities two years ago, has now been moved back to the old location on Whangpoo Road in the Japanese-controlled Hongkew section.

*

Chester M. Wentworth, well-known American exchange broker in Shanghai, was married on Monday, Sept. 25 to Mrs. Hilda Gordon of Shanghai. Chaplain R. R. Marken of the U. S. Marines performed the ceremony, which was held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. G. G. Bradford, with Mrs. Bradford acting as matron of honor. More than 200 persons attended the reception at the Bradford home following the ceremony. Mr. and Mrs. Wentworth departed for the United States on the President Coolidge on a honeymoon trip and are scheduled to return to Shanghai in January.

*

The Japanese newspaper *Shanghai Mainichi* stated on Sept. 21 that the Central China Aviation Company, a Japanese enterprise fostered by the Japanese Army, will shortly inaugurate a regular aviation service connecting Shanghai, Nanking, Anking, Kiukiang and Hankow. The company plans to expend $4,000,000 on equipment for the new service, according to the report. All of these cities were previously on the regular schedules of the China National Aviation Corporation, joint American-Chinese company, which was forced to suspend its operations by the Japanese Army.

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V. S. Luksha, formerly well-known as a Russian choir-leader in Harbin and Shanghai, who went to the United States some time ago, has written friends in Shanghai that he is now directing the choir of a large Russian church in California.

*

B. V. Ostroumoff, formerly general manager of the Chinese Eastern Railway at Harbin, is now in Indo-China where he is assisting the French authorities in the development of new railway enterprises.

*

The American community in Chungking recently raised the sum of $2,372 which was given to Madame Chiang Kai-shek for use in connection with her fund for the relief of war orphans.

*

Willys R. Peck, Counsellor of the American Embassy at Chungking, flew to Hanoi, French Indo-China about two weeks ago, allegedly for the purpose of investigating the delay in the shipment of American supplies destined for west China. Mr. Peck met Charles S. Reed, recently appointed American Consul-General at Saigon. Mr. and Mrs. Reed passed through Shanghai recently on their way to their new post from Peiping, where Mr. Reed was connected with the Embassy. With reference to the delay in the shipment of American supplies, the French authorities claimed it was due to lack of shipping facilities rather than official restrictions.

*

The steamer Satartia, first to be placed in service on the new line from the Puget Sound district to the Orient by the U. S. Maritime Commission, did not call at Shanghai as scheduled, but proceeded directly to Hongkong this week. The reason for the failure to call here was lack of cargo for this port. The next steamer, the Coldbrook, will call here on Oct. 25. The new service is expected to have one ship every three weeks from the West Coast to Shanghai, Hongkong, Manila. It was reported that the new line may ultimately add two 14,000-ton passenger liners with capacity for 100 first class passengers. Agents in Shanghai are Everett Steamship Company.

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The consular officials of the Netherlands have taken over the protection of German interests in Hongkong and the Straits Settlements, according to *Transocean* report from Amsterdam.

*

Miss Betty Jacobsen of Los Angeles, who has been visiting Miss Frances Arnold, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Julean Arnold in Shanghai, returned home on the President Coolidge this week. Miss Jacobsen and Miss Arnold were classmastes at Pomona College.

*

A German *Transocean* report from Stockholm on Sept. 21 said that sporting circles in the United States had invited the Olympic Games Committee at Helsingfors, Finland, to transfer the 1940 Olympics to the United States. It was stated, however, that the Committee was continuing preparations for holding the games in Finland despite the war situation.

*

John Moser, formerly connected with the U. S. Consulate-General at Tientsin, who resigned several years ago to join the Princeton University Press, is the author of a novel which has just been published by Simon and Shuster, N. Y. The title is "Liar Dice," and the book deals largely with characters and incidents in Tientsin.

*

Mr. and Mrs. B. C. Patterson of the American Southern Presbyterian Mission, who have been engaged in missionary work in Shanghai and elsewhere in China for the past 48 years, departed this week for their old home in Staunton, Virginia, where they plan to reside in future. Two sons, C. H. Patterson and Norman G. Patterson, who also are engaged in missionary work, will remain in China. Mr. and Mrs. B. C. Patterson were first stationed in Sutsien and Tenghsien in Shantung. They assisted in the establishment of the North China Theological Seminary at Tenghsien.

*

Prof. Chen Yin-chieh, former head of the history department of National Tsinghua University and now connected with Academia Sinica, has been appointed to a professorial position at Oxford University, according to recent announcement at Chungking by Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, British Ambassador, who is president of the Sino-British Cultural Association. The chair at Oxford will have a term of three to five years and will be renewable and will be concerned with the teaching of Chinese history and philology and historical method.

*

Judge Sir Allan Mossop in the British Supreme Court at Shanghai on Sept. 18, ordered a copy of the writ and petition to be served on the respondent by registered post in a divorce action brought by K. M. Pate against his wife, Mrs. Virginia Antoinette Pate, who resides in Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A. The respondent will be given 50 days to enter an appearance. The Judge ordered the name of Norman J. Reeve to be struck from the action as co-respondent.

The Shanghai American School opened the present term with an enrollment of 398 students and a staff of 29 teachers. The enrollment is 23 larger than last year, but many more pupils are expected to arrive shortly, making this year a record since the outbreak of Sino-Japanese hostilities.

*

Officials of the Overseas-Chinese Banking Corporation, Ltd., of Singapore, who were arrested by the officials of Bangkok, Siam (Thailand), more than a month ago have been released, according to reports published in the local Chinese papers. The men were arrested along with a number of other Chinese accused of political activities in connection with the Sino-Japanese war situation. The officials of the bank who were arrested included Ong Thye Ghee and Sng Cheng Hee, who were manager and assistant manager, and G. Z. Mar, cashier.

*

Floyd (Phillips) Gibbons, well-known in the Far East as a war correspondent for *Hearst* and as a radio broadcaster, died in New York City on Sept. 25, at the age of 52 years. Mr. Gibbons was in Manchuria in the fall and winter of 1931-1932 during the Japanese occupation of that country, later coming to Shanghai to cover the Japanese invasion here. Mr. Gibbons covered the World War for *The Chicago Tribune*, finally becoming chief of the paper's European service and editor of the Paris edition of the paper. He lost an eye while covering the battle of Chateau-Thierry. Mr. Gibbons was born in Minneapolis and was graduated from Georgetown, D. C. University. He was aboard the steamer Laconia when it was torpedoed, and following his rescue, after several hours in an open boat, he sent a long dispatch describing the incident. He was an officer of the Legion of Honor and was awarded the French and Italian Croix de Guerre with palm.

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Special Proceedings No. 2305

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New Books of Interest in the Far East

Press and Business

LORDS OF THE PRESS—By George Seldes. New York, Julian Messner, 1938. Price U.S.$3.00.

The press is admittedly Big Business. It is largely run for profit and it is naturally reluctant to take any steps that would adversely affect its revenues. On the other hand, the press is functionally a public utility, with a tremendous influence upon public life and with infinite possibilities of doing damage.

The desire to make money and the necessity to serve public welfare often clash. Out of this conflict springs never-ending criticism of journalism. The press is accused of betraying public trust, of selling its support to the highest bidder and of favoring those groups—usually minorities—whose policies conform to those of the newspaper in question.

Very often the criticism is justified. Every newspaper is guilty of occasional suppression of news, of over-emphasis on items regarded as advantageous to the moneyed class, and of outright fabrication. Certain American publishers attack the present Mexican Government because they fear for the fate of their huge estates in Mexico. Others attack Russia because in Bolshevism they see a threat to their own personal interests. Still others oppose public ownership of utilities because they receive secret subsidies from the private power companies.

But the critics ignore the all-important fact that no newspaper can last long unless it receives revenue sufficient to cover its expenses, and to secure this revenue it is essential not to offend advertisers.

The chief defect of Mr. Seldes' otherwise enlightening book is this refusal to recognize that no paper can live without advertising, and that no advertising can be secured unless the journal is prepared to back the advertisers' particular interests. Mr. Seldes' condemnation of the American press is severe and wholesale. Of all of the United States' newspapers he finds but one clear of sins and only one newsman unimpeachable—*The Emporia Gazette* and its William Allen White. All others, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the *New York Times*, the *Kansas City Star*, the *Washington Post* and the *Christian Science Monitor*, he finds deficient in one respect or another, and, therefore, not worthy of public trust.

This is, of course, an unrealistic view of the situation. Everything that is made by human hands has its defects. But there are differing defects, and while some deserve the severest condemnation, others must be forgiven because, for one reason or another, they are unavoidable under the present political circumstances.

Some of the book's most interesting chapters are devoted to the prominent figures of American journalism, including George Sokolsky, so well-known in these parts. Mr. Seldes traces Sokolsky's career at great length, from his school days to his uncovering as a paid propagandist for Big Business.

On the whole, the book is well worth perusal, but the reader must keep in mind Mr. Seldes' peculiar biases and prejudices.

G

Struggle for Freedom

ONE-FIFTH OF MANKIND.—By Anna Louise Strong. N. Y., Modern Age Books, 1938. 215 pages. U.S. 50 cents.

This cheap edition of Miss Strong's latest book on China (published in London under the title *China Fights for Freedom*) has already gone through several printings. The book has a particular appeal to the American reader because of the parallel drawn by Miss Strong between the American Revolution and the present war in China.

Miss Strong's books, whether on China or Russia, deserve the attention of serious readers. Her simple, human style does not cover the depth of conviction and the personal observations which she has been able to make. To Miss Strong the present conflict in China is part of the struggle for freedom which touches the entire human race. Were she rewriting the book today, her thesis might well be extended to the conflict in Europe.

An historical background is used to interpret both China and the relations

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EDITORIAL COMMENTARY

ARTICLES

Prospero's Isle *By Lawrence Durrell*
Buddhism in Modern China *By Monk Wei-huan* (惟幻和尚)
Some Fundamental Differences Between China and Japan *By Derk Bodde*
The Nature of Courage According to Plato and Mencius *By Rufus Suter*

CHRONICLE

Press Chronicle *By Yu Chên Ming* (俞震民)

TRANSLATION

Lin Ch'ung Yeh Pên (林沖夜奔) A *k'un-chü* monologue and *pas seul*
Translated by Harold Acton
Yang Chu (列子楊朱篇) *Translated by Leonard A. Lyall*

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between China and Japan. (The facts of Chinese history were edited by Dr. Ch'ao-ting Chi.) But the more virile section of the book deals directly with China's present struggle —the development of guerrilla warfare, the work of the Eighth Route Army in arousing the masses, organizing the women, working with the farmers and training political leaders. These things Miss Strong saw for herself on a trip north from Hankow in Marshal Yen's special train. And Miss Strong is a well-trained observer, keen and pungent in her conclusions. The chapter "Chinese Drama Goes to War" describes the literary propaganda which has played such a large part in inspiriting the country.

Ting Ling, the leading left-wing woman writer, told Miss Strong: "I have a clear opinion about the duty of the writer. He has only one task today: to help save the country. We must not lose ourselve in theories of literature; we must simply write to arouse the masses. . . . From the standpoint of art our playing is backward, but the peasants like to see us because we dramatize their own life. We live like common soldiers, our food is not plentiful, and our transport is chiefly our own feet. We put on dramas, make public speeches, draw cartoons on the village walls and teach the peasants to sing. We must teach at least two songs to every village."

The chapter on Chinese women carries forward the story of women's wider life which was begun with so much effectiveness in Miss Strong's earlier book *China's Millions*.

The last chapter, which discusses the international situation relative to China, has been somewhat changed in the American edition. The English edition emphasizes the fact that "Japanese fascism, helped to maturity by Britain, openly threatens its benefactor." The American edition speaks more particularly of the Neutrality Act, which has in reality aided the aggressor, and of the different attitudes to be found in the United States.

F. M. R.

Economic Determinism

THE STUDY OF HISTORY: A SYNOPTIC VIEW.—By R. M. Crawford, B.A., M.A. Melbourne University Press, 1939. 44 pages. Price one Shilling.

History as written by the historians and taught by schoolmasters has often been charged with being a record of kings and wars. "History is past politics" was indeed the definition of the eminent historian Freeman. And if one substitute "dictators" for "kings," who will gainsay Freeman's converse definition that "present politics are future history?"

But in fact the purely political interpretation of history has ceased to find respect. Professor Crawford's interpretation in this small book gives the major place to the economic factor. In doing so he credits Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels with having made the principal contribution towards amending the traditional writing of history. He rightly points out that the economic influence is not the only one emphasized by Marx-Engels, but only that of a totality of influences the economic is the most decisive.

For himself, Professor Crawford though he accepts the materialistic interpretation in part, is not willing to accept it in full. Not determinism but free will is the important thing in the analysis. "If we accept the idea of free will at all, we must accept that of the burden of responsibility." A "synoptic view" of history then, while it accepts economic determinism in large part, holds that ideas are not effects but causes of public events.

D. R.

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